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MODERN

JERUSALEM.

Jerusalem! Jerusalem! enthroned once on high,
Thou favoured home of God on earth, thou heaven below the sky;
Now brought to bondage with thy sons, a curse and grief to see,
Jerusalem! Jerusalem! our tears shall flow for thee.

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HISTORY

OF

MODERN JERUSALEM.

CHAPTER I.

JERUSALEM FROM THE TIME OF CHRIST TO ITS DESTRUCTION BY TITUS.

After the death of Herod his territories were divided among his sons ; and the one who obtained Judæa and Jerusalem was Archelaus, with the title of ethnarch, Matt. ii. 22. His misgovernment soon, however, led to his deposition and banishment, and his territory was then made a Roman province, governed by a procurator, acting under the president of Syria. The procurators abode usually at Cæsarea, but went over to Jerusalem at the great festivals with a military force, to maintain order and to repress disturbances among the multitude of Jews, who, on those occasions, repaired to

Jerusalem, not only from all parts of the land, but also from foreign countries. Hence it was that Pilate was at Jerusalem against the passover at which our Lord was crucified under his unrighteous judgment. Had the Jews acted against Jesus at any other time, they would have been under the necessity of going down to Cæsarea, to bring the matter before the governor there, as was done in the case of Paul, Acts xxiv. 23—32; but, to avoid this trouble, they generally reserved their complaints and accusations till the governor came at the usual times to Jerusalem. A cohort, or regiment, of Roman soldiers, was constantly in garrison at Jerusalem, in the fortress of Antonia; and this force was increased at the festivals by the troops which accompanied the governor.

This Pilate was the fourth of the Roman procurators, and some incidents of his government illustrate the history of Jerusalem. Till his time it had been usual for the Roman soldiers to abstain from bringing their standards into Jerusalem, to avoid offending the inhabitants, who regarded the images upon those standards as idolatrous and abominable. This forbearance was very remarkable under all the circumstances, and considering the reverence

with which the standards were regarded by the soldiers themselves. Pilate resolved to discontinue this custom, and directed that the troops sent from Samaria into winter quarters, at Jerusalem, should carry in their standards with them by night. This was done, and the act produced a strong sensation in the holy city. Many of the principal Jews repaired forthwith to Cæsarea, and implored the governor to order the removal of the standards. They were at first treated with neglect, and even insult; but they conducted themselves with so much temper and resolution, that they at length carried their point. On another occasion, Pilate set up shields with idolatrous inscriptions, in Jerusalem. Of this the Jews complained to the emperor Tiberius, and obtained from him an order for their removal, accompanied by a reprimand to the governor for his conduct. It was perhaps in resentment for this that Pilate undertook to construct an aqueduct to bring water to Jerusalem from a fountain twenty miles off; not from any desire to benefit the inhabitants, but that he might drain the treasury of the temple by demanding funds for the work. The Jews did not submit patiently to this; and on one occasion, when they beset his judgment-

seat at Jerusalem in large numbers and with considerable clamour on this account, he sent into the crowd disguised soldiers, with daggers under their clothes, by whom many persons were slain, while others were trampled to death in the confusion which arose. These things, and the generally oppressive course of his administration, rendered Pilate odious to the Jews in general, and to the citizens of Jerusalem in particular. But at length he began to dread the consequences of their complaints against him to the emperor, and became anxious to avert or soften their resentment. This was his state of mind when the Saviour of the world was brought before him for judgment; and it affords the clue to his conduct in condemning to death, at their clamorous demand, one whom in his heart he believed to be innocent. In vain did he wash his hands, and declare himself innocent of the blood of that just Person. The stain of that blood was such as rivers of water could not wash from his name. But not in vain did the Jews reply:—"His blood be on us and on our children!" Awfully was that blood required of them before that generation passed away; and from their children—strangers in many lands, and stealthy pilgrims in that which

was once their own—the dread penalties which were then invoked have not yet ceased to be exacted.

Pilate was recalled in the year 35 A.D.; but Judæa continued under the same form of Roman government till the year 41, when this province was added to the kingdom of Herod Agrippa, (the "Herod the king," of Acts xii. 1,) a grandson of Herod the Great. During the intervening period, the only circumstance of note in the history of Jerusalem, was the determined resistance made by the inhabitants to the introduction of the statue of Caligula within the sanctuary, when that mad emperor determined to exact divine honours from all his subjects. This resistance seemed likely to involve the Jewish people in great danger: but at length the solicitations of Herod Agrippa, who was then at Rome, joined to the humble remonstrances of a deputation of Jews, prevailed upon the tyrant to grant a reluctant exemption in favour of the temple at Jerusalem.

The good service which Herod Agrippa rendered on this occasion, availed him much when, not long after, he was made king of Judæa, and arrived to take possession of his dominion. Most of his proceedings, in that character, were

influenced by a desire to stand well with his subjects; and to this motive we may ascribe his persecution of the Christians. James the apostle—the son of Zebedee—he put to death; and Peter was cast into prison, and would also have been slain had he not been miraculously delivered, Acts xii. 1—11.

After the death of Herod Agrippa, in 44 A.D., as recorded in Acts xii. 20—25, Judæa was again made a Roman province, his son Agrippa being deemed too young for so turbulent a kingdom. The Romans, however, were so much annoyed at the constant difficulties which arose out of matters connected with the temple and religious affairs of the Jews, that the emperor Claudius was induced to consign the government of the temple, together with the nomination of the high-priests, to Herod, king of Chalcis—a grandson of Herod the Great. He did not enjoy this honour long; for he died in 47 A.D., and his kingdom of Chalcis, as well as the charge of the temple, was then given to his nephew, the Agrippa just mentioned, who is the same "king Agrippa," before whom, several years after this, St. Paul pleaded at Cæsarea, Acts xxv. 23.

The political and military power was still,

however, in the hands of the Roman procurators. Under the administration of Cuspius Fadius and Tiberius Alexander, the country remained in tolerable tranquillity; but on the succession of Cumanus, in 44 A.D., the gross license of the Roman soldiers, encouraged rather than checked by their commander, exasperated the Jews and stirred up the fire of revolt, to which Humidius Quadratus, the president of Syria, added fresh fuel by his unjust and cruel measures, when the injured parties appealed to him. From that time forward the storm was gathering fast; the aggravated evils of the Jews had become insupportable. They had filled up the measure of their iniquities, and "wrath had come upon them to the uttermost."

Under the government of Felix—the same who trembled when Paul "reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come"—there appeared at Jerusalem a secret band of assassins, called Sicarii, from the daggers which they wore. These men carried on their trade of blood in the open day—in the public streets, or in the crowded temple—without detection. Besides this, there was that remarkable sign of the coming desolation to which our Lord had

many years before directed the special attention of his disciples, Matt. xxiv. 15—17. Numerous impostors were continually springing up on all sides, laying claim to the Messiahship, or at least to some measure of Divine inspiration; and the state of the nation is not unaptly compared by Josephus to that of a diseased body, in which inflammation is suppressed in one quarter only to break forth with greater violence in another.

Felix was succeeded by Festus, in 61 A.D.; and on his removal by death, two years after, he was replaced by Albinus, who proved one of the worst governors the Jews had ever received from the Romans. It was during his administration that the Herodian temple was at length finished in all its parts. The prospect of throwing eighteen thousand men out of employment, seemed so dangerous in the existing state of public feeling, that various plans were devised for keeping them at work; and, it was in the end decided by Agrippa, to employ them in paving the city of Jerusalem with white stone. This did not, however, last them long—it was discontinued; and in the time of the next procurator they were thrown loose upon society, and greatly increased the perils of the impend-

ing crisis in the affairs of the Jewish people. That crisis was hastened on by the gross misconduct of the procurator, Gessius Florus, who succeeded Albinus in 64 A.D., and who proved the very worst, as he was the last, of the Roman governors. Other governors had been tyrannical, cruel, avaricious, but the tyranny of Florus knew no bounds ; his cruelty was a habit, and his avarice was utterly insatiable ; and, instead of being checked and reproved, he was supported and encouraged by his immediate superior, Cestius Gallus, the president of Syria. The last-named person was present at Jerusalem at the passover, in 65 A.D. Multitudes of Jews then surrounded his tribunal, imploring him to have mercy upon the country. He dismissed them with a vague promise of advising Florus to govern better in future. But this advice was probably not given, or, if given, was not heeded. On this occasion, Cestius was struck by the vast concourse of persons to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and had the curiosity to attempt to ascertain their numbers. An account was taken of the number of paschal lambs which were slaughtered. And, as it was the usage that not less than ten persons should sit down to one lamb, a calculation was hence

formed, that the passover population of Jerusalem could not be less than two million five hundred and fifty-six thousand, and might be three millions. One may at the first view suspect these numbers to be a cipher too high ; but, it must be borne in mind that it was obligatory upon every adult male to appear in Jerusalem at that season, and that devout Jews then resorted to the holy city from countries far beyond the limits of Palestine.

It seems to have been the object of Florus to drive the Jews into insurrection, that the public confusion might prevent complaints against his iniquitous conduct from being heard, and that a wider field for spoliation might be opened up. It would, however, be taking a very partial view of these transactions to ascribe the war which speedily ensued, to the tyrannies of the Roman governor, whose measures merely fanned the blast which blew up into destroying flames the embers of wrath and discontent which had smouldered long, and which could not much longer have been withheld from conflagration.

The first act of open rebellion, was the refusal to offer the usual sacrifices for the emperor. Then followed a successful attempt of the seditious factions to get possession of the city, in the

course of which many public buildings were wilfully destroyed by fire. The chief priests, and the more peaceably disposed inhabitants, who had retired to Mount Zion, were attacked there, and the high-priest, who had concealed himself in a sewer, was discovered and put to death. The fortress of Antonia was next forced, and the garrison slain. The palace of Herod, at the north-west angle of Mount Zion, still remained in the hands of the Romans, strongly fortified on the north by the three great towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Miriamne. The garden in which the soldiers were encamped was first carried, and they then retired into the towers. The excited and triumphant Jews hastened to fire the vacated camp, and then proceeded to besiege the towers. The soldiers were constrained to capitulate. They laid down their arms ; and were immediately slaughtered in contravention of the terms, and that, too, on the sabbath day. Meanwhile, the revolt had spread throughout the country ; and the president, on whom devolved the duty of putting it down, was, for a time, too much occupied elsewhere to march against Jerusalem. At length, however, he arrived. He pitched his camp at Scopas, seven furlongs from the city, and waited three days

in the hope that his appearance would awe the rebels into submission. Finding himself mistaken, he entered the city, the Jews having, for the purpose of concentrating their resources of defence, abandoned the outer and second wall. Cestius destroyed the new city and part of the lower city by fire, and then advanced against the upper city, which was occupied by the insurgents, and encamped before the Herodian palace, where there was a space unoccupied by buildings between the outer and second wall. But after five days, Cestius abandoned his operations in this quarter, and turned to the northern side of the temple, where he was repulsed by the Jews. Soon after, God, who had reserved the city for a more signal doom than could have been sustained had the city been at this time taken, struck Cestius with a sudden panic, and he raised the siege without any apparent cause. The retreat was most disastrous; for the Jews, who had just before given up all for lost, were elated by what they regarded as an interposition of God's special providence in their behalf, and they pursued the Roman army with incredible ardour and ferocity, and soon changed its orderly retreat into a complete rout.

This success was the ruin of the Jews. In the first place, it buoyed up their minds in the firm conviction that they were still, as of old, the special objects of the Divine care and favour, and that the Lord would never suffer the city which he had chosen, and the holy temple in which he had set his name, to be smitten by the heathen ; and, in the second place, it gave a stern and implacable character to the future warfare, by engaging the honour of the Romans to blot out the disgrace which their arms had sustained.

The tidings of these events made a great sensation at Rome; and the emperor Nero lost no time in sending the able and experienced Vespasian into Syria, in the quality of president, to put an end to the war.

Vespasian, who was accompanied by his son Titus, commenced operations in the spring of A.D. 67, with an army of 60,000 men. Instead of going at once to Jerusalem, he employed himself in reducing Galilee and in recovering the fortresses which had been taken by the insurgents. In this he met with considerable resistance, and had many occasions of witnessing the desperate valour of the insurgents. At Jotapata he was opposed by Josephus, the

historian of the war, to whom the provisional Jewish government had confided the defence of Galilee. The fortress fell, and Josephus was taken alive. He was at first treated rather roughly, but afterwards with consideration and respect. At the commencement of the campaign, the Romans behaved with great severity wherever they came. No mercy was shown to age or sex; but cities, towns, and villages, were cruelly ravaged and destroyed. Nor were these desolations confined to Judæa; for, in many foreign cities, where Jews were settled, they were slaughtered in multitudes by the Roman soldiers and the other inhabitants. Some idea of these dreadful massacres may be formed from the fact, that above 20,000 Jews were slain in one day in Cæsarea, 10,000 in one night at Scythopolis, 50,000 at Alexandria, 8000 at Joppa, and above 10,000 at Damascus. Nor need we wonder at such extent of destruction among a people who were so infatuated as to rush into a warfare in which the odds were so fearfully against them.

Though the war was steadily prosecuted, Vespasian evinced no haste to march against Jerusalem; and, when urged by his impatient officers, he told them it was better to let the

Jews destroy one another. In fact, he knew well how destructively the factions were raging against each other in Jerusalem. There were three of these factions, afterwards reduced to two, holding possessions of different parts of the city. They wasted their strength in cruel conflicts with each other, in which they even destroyed the storehouses of corn and provisions which formed the only resource against famine threatened in the siege. In one thing, however, they all agreed—in harassing, plundering, and destroying the citizens and nobles who did not enter into their views. Thus they obtained little real benefit from the respite which arose from the attention of the Roman army being diverted for a while from them by the death of Nero. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were invested with the purple in quick succession ; and at length, with general approbation, Vespasian himself was declared emperor by the army in Judæa. He then departed for Rome, leaving the conduct of the war to his son Titus. At the feast of the passover, in the ensuing year, when the city of Jerusalem was, as usual at that time, crowded with people from all quarters, the Roman army appeared before the walls. It was, probably, his anxiety to save the city and the temple, that

induced Titus to commence the siege at this season; for it might have been expected that, where such multitudes were shut up in an ill-provisioned city, famine alone would soon make a surrender inevitable. The besieged were very earnestly invited to open their gates to the Romans, and were with all sincerity assured of their liberty and safety. Josephus was also commissioned to harangue them, and to point out to them the folly of supposing that they could hold out against, or successfully resist, the power of Rome. But all warning and counsel were treated with insult and scorn; and the factions expressed the resolution of defending the city to the very last, in the confidence that God would not permit his temple and city to fall before the heathen. Such repeated refusals of mercy and compassion, and the very desperate defence made by the besieged, compelled Titus, much against his own will, to become the unconscious instrument of accomplishing that doom of the city and the temple, which Christ had, nearly forty years before, denounced. The folly of the resistance made by the Jews was so clear to Titus, that he became exasperated at the unpleasant task which their obstinacy imposed upon him. Resolved that none of

them should escape, but such as surrendered to him, he raised around the city a strong wall of circumvallation, strengthened with towers. This great work was accomplished in the short space of three days.

The city was very strong, being, as we have already seen, protected by three walls, one within another; and then there was the temple, which itself was an exceedingly strong fortress.

All these defences were successively carried by the Romans, although every step was desperately contested by the besieged, who for fifteen weeks prevented their enemies from reaching the temple. During that time, the most horrible famine was experienced within the city. At length, no table was spread, or regular meal eaten in Jerusalem; people bartered all their wealth for a measure of corn, and often ate it unground and unbaked, or snatched it half-baked from the coals; things were eaten which all men abhor, and which the Jews, of all men, deemed most abominable. Many perished of mere want, especially the old and very young; for the latter, the mother's breast no longer afforded nourishment, and there were instances of dead infants being eaten by their own parents. All this was in accordance with that ancient

propheey in which Moses had described the punishment of their unbelief. Nor was famine the only scourge ; the factions still raged within the city, agreeing only in resisting the enemy without, and then turning with unabated fury against each other. They agreed, also, in continuing their shameful maltreatment of such of the inhabitants as they suspected to be in favour of surrendering the city, or inclined to desert to the Romans. To incur suspicion of this was instant death ; and many persons were charged with the offence, and slain, for the sake of their wealth.

The lower city was taken by the Romans, early in the month of May ; but the temple did not fall until the beginning of August. Titus was most anxious to save this glorious fabric, as one of the noblest ornaments of the Roman empire. But the Jewish historian observes, that the "holy and beautiful house" was doomed to destruction ; and he attributes to a "Divine impulse," the act of the soldier who seized a burning brand and cast it in at the golden window, whereby the whole fabric was soon in flames. Titus hastened to the spot, and finding all attempts to save the building hopeless, he, with some of his officers, entered the sanctuary,

and directed the removal of the sacred utensils of gold, some of which afterwards graced his triumphal procession, and were sculptured upon the arch which commemorated his victories.

The upper city, into which the besieged had retreated, soon after fell ; and this completed the conquest of Jerusalem. In all these operations the carnage was horrible ; for with the Romans the time for mercy was past, and in their exasperation at the useless obstinacy of the defence, they burned and destroyed without remorse, and massacred the people without distinction of age or sex. Streams of blood ran through all the streets, and the alleys were filled with bodies weltering in gore. The number that perished during the four months of the siege, is computed at 1,100,000,—a number which would seem incredible if we did not recollect that a nation was, as it were, shut up in that city, having assembled to celebrate the passover ; so that, as Josephus observes, this exceeded all the destructions that had hitherto been brought upon the world. Besides, more than an equal number perished elsewhere in the six years of war ; and 97,000 were made prisoners and sold into slavery. Of these, thousands were sent to toil in the Egyptian mines ; and thousands more

were sent into different provinces as presents, to be consumed by the sword, and by wild beasts in the amphitheatres. They were offered for sale "till no man would buy them," and then they were slain or given away.

Thus did Israel cease to be a nation, and become outcast and desolate; and thus were their famous city and its glorious temple utterly cast down.

CHAPTER II.

JERUSALEM FROM ITS OVERTHROW BY TITUS, TO THE AGE OF THE CRUSADES.

Among the ruins of the city, and probably in the remains of Herod's palace, Titus left a garrison of 800 soldiers to prevent the Jews from attempting to rebuild the town; and for their protection, as well as for a memorial of the strength and greatness of the place which his arms had subdued, the great towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Miriamne were left standing by the conqueror.

After the great body of the Roman army had retired, many Jews came back to mourn over their holy city, and fixed their abode among its ruins. Many of the Christians of Jerusalem, who, mindful of their Lord's prophetic injunction, had quitted the place before the Roman army approached, now returned from the towns beyond the Jordan to which they had retired. The presence of the Roman garrison would also naturally draw to the spot

many persons who traded in supplying its wants. These were not, it would seem, forbidden to form for themselves habitations among or out of the ruins. Hence it became in time the skeleton of a town, clothed with the shadow of a population, down to the time of the emperor Adrian, who visited the place in the thirteenth year of his reign. The Jews had, before this, given great trouble to the Romans, and had raised disturbances in various quarters, which had not been put down without much bloodshed, nor without loss to the Romans. At this time they were quiet: but it was known to the emperor that they only waited a favourable opportunity to re-commence their struggle for independence. It therefore occurred to him when at Jerusalem, that it would be a good stroke of policy to rebuild the city as a fortified town, to be colonised with Roman veterans, whereby he might not only hope to curb the turbulence of the Jews, but dissipate their hope of a national restoration. The work was accordingly commenced with vigour in or about the year 131; and some progress had been made, when the Jews, unable to bear the idea that their holy city should be occupied by foreigners, and that the

site of their glorious temple should be occupied by a house of idols, and profaned by abominable worship, broke out into open rebellion under Bar-Chocheba ('*son of a star*,') who declared himself the long-desired Messiah, appointed to lead them to conflict with and victory over all their enemies. His success was at first very great; but he was crushed under the tremendous power of the Romans, as soon as it could be brought to bear upon him; and a war scarcely inferior in horrors to that which was waged under Vespasian and Titus was, like it, brought to a close by the capture of Jerusalem, of which the insurgents had gained possession.

This was in 135 A.D., and from this period the final dispersion of the Jews among the nations has been often stated; for, until this time, they had still formed the basis of the population of the country, which was never afterwards the case.

The city was then completed according to the design of Adrian. It was made a Roman colony, and peopled entirely by foreigners, the Jews being forbidden to approach it on pain of death. A temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was erected upon Mount Moriah; and the old

name of Jerusalem was sought to be supplanted by that of Ælia Capitolina, which was conferred upon it in honour of the emperor, Ælius Adrianus, and of Jupiter Capitolinus. By this name it passed till the time of Constantine, when that of Jerusalem again became current, although Ælia was still its public designation, and remained such till 536 A.D., when it appears in the acts of a synod held there. This name even passed to the Moslems, by whom it was long retained; and it was not until after the recovery of the city from the Crusaders, that it became generally known among them by the name of El Khuds—"the holy,"—which it still bears.

The new city built by Adrian was, no doubt, very different from that which had been destroyed by Titus. The general style of architecture must have been altogether different in the public buildings, and probably considerably different even in the private residences; and the idol temples, and the theatre, and other places of public amusements suitable to Roman tastes, could not fail to impart the character of a pagan city to the place. As such, it could not have been a matter of great regret to the Jews that they were forbidden to approach it,

or even to behold it from the neighbouring hills.

Nor did the Christians of Judæa escape without indignity and dishonour. It was by this time pretty well understood that they were not to be confounded with the Jews; and to lessen the danger of this, the church in Judæa, which had hitherto kept up the observance of the Mosaical law, resolved henceforth to dispense with it. This was done not only that they might be as clearly distinguished from the Jews as the Gentile Christians were, but because there was a disposition to consider that, by the recent events, the old covenant was in fact broken up and abrogated. But in thus establishing the distinction between themselves and the Jews, the churches of Palestine laid themselves open to unexpected indignities as Christians. It has not been sufficiently noticed hitherto, in dealing with the history of this period, that the educated pagans had, by this time, picked up some loose notions respecting the holy mysteries of the Christian religion—especially of such as related to the person and offices of Christ—and were disposed to look upon them as representing the same things, or as being new versions or adaptations of the

notions which were already embodied in their own mythology. It was, doubtless, under this view that Adrian did, if the received accounts be correct, build temples upon the spots at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, which had been the scenes of our Lord's birth and sepulture: but whether he did this in mockery and despite of the holy mysteries of Christ's incarnation and suffering, or with a design to show respect to Jesus after his own idolatrous fashion, cannot be ascertained. The former is the object usually ascribed to him; but the latter is quite as probable: and, in either case, the affliction of the Christians must have been equal, to see their Divine Lord assimilated to the idols whose mythological history seemed to bear some faint analogy to his own. The temple over the real or supposed site of the nativity at Bethlehem, was dedicated to Venus, and it contained a picture, carving, or image of Adonis—the Thammuz of the Old Testament.

It is not difficult to trace the ideas under which some circumstances in the old mythical history of objects of worship in this temple might be assimilated in heathen minds, whether out of mockery or respect, to the circumstances attending the incarnation and birth of our Saviour.

And those who consider the subject well, will find little reason to doubt that, in the allocation of the objects of idol worship, this idea of analogy—so shocking to every Christian mind—was kept very distinctly in view.

A further and strong proof of a distinct intention is found in the fact, that a temple and image of Venus were also set up over the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem.

We know little or nothing of what occurred in following years to Ælia till the time of Constantine. But we know that Christian pilgrims even then resorted to the city from distant places, to behold with their own eyes the fulfilment of prophecy in the existing condition of the city, and to view a place made so memorable by the deeds and sufferings of their Divine Saviour. This propensity for pilgrimages to Jerusalem received a new impulse, and might be indulged without restraint when Constantine had, as the head of the empire, formally recognised and adopted the Christian religion, 324 A.D. His own mother, the aged Helena, was one of the most earnest of these pilgrims, and the most zealous in attempting to trace the footsteps of our Lord. She built a church over the reputed place of the nativity at Bethlehem;

and another over the supposed place of the ascension in Mount Olivet. But her chief object and desire, it is said, was to discover and erect a basilica over the spot where our Lord suffered and was laid in the tomb. The general site was determined by that of the temple which had been erected thereon to Venus; but the heart of the aged devotee could not be satisfied with less than the indication of the precise spots which these events had, in her eyes, made venerable beyond any others the earth contained. The accumulated rubbish which had been heaped around and over the site, was carefully removed in search of the tomb, which was at length discovered; and hard by it three crosses, with the tablet bearing the inscription written by Pilate. If these crosses, with the title, really were found, they would certainly help to identify the spot; and there would be nothing incredible in their being preserved so long as three hundred years, if we could account for their being left in that situation. This is said to have been, because, in the hurry of the preparation for the sabbath, the crosses were cast into a pit, and there remained. But it is only necessary to look at this matter closely, to see how improbable this story is. Christ was "taken down

from the cross," but there is no intimation that the cross itself was taken down ; nor, if time so greatly pressed, was there any need that it should be taken down till after the sabbath, and then it would remain the property of the Romans ; who, probably, reserved it for a future execution, or applied the timber to some other use. Or again, executions by crucifixion were entirely in the hands of the Roman soldiers, and they were not subject to the law of the sabbath, and might have removed the crosses on the evening of the execution. Or further, if the crosses had been cast into a pit, they would, without doubt, have been recovered after the sabbath ; for wood was then scarce and valuable at Jerusalem, and it is morally impossible that so much useful timber should have been left neglected in an open pit during the years it must have taken to fill it up and conceal them from view. It is therefore difficult to suppose, that the crosses could be preserved without a special miracle; and, that any miracle was exercised in order to preserve them, or to bring them eventually to light, or then to distinguish the cross of Christ from those of the two thieves who were crucified with him, are ideas which, although entertained by some, every real Protestant who is aware of

the enormities which relic-worship has produced in Christendom, must reject with indignation.

But apart from all the evidence which Roman Catholics, and "Anglo-Catholics," deduce from the discovery of "the true cross" on the spot, it must be admitted that the grounds on which the identity of the alleged site of the Holy Sepulchre rests are not altogether undeserving of consideration. There is no question that the site at the present day, indicated as that of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, are those at that time fixed upon—at not more than three hundred years after the transactions occurred which rendered the spots interesting to the Christians. It is urged that the disciples of Christ were not likely to forget, or to regard without interest, these remarkable spots. It is not in nature that they should do so. The spots, therefore, which they regarded with interest, were the real sites of these transactions. That they did regard them with interest, is shown by the fact that the heathen were induced, by the interest which the Christians felt in the place, to build a temple thereon. This temple was erected while the events were still almost within the memory of man; and, from the living memory,

it took up the record and carried it down in the durable character of stone to the time of Helena and Constantine. It is not necessary that our painful consciousness of the dreadful abuses which have arisen out of the unscriptural doctrine of meritorious pilgrimages to these, and such like "holy places," should blind us to the weight which this historical evidence bears, even when disconnected from the monkish tale respecting the discovery of the cross on the spot. When we consider the soul-destroying errors which have been connected with pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre, when we think of the rivers of blood which have been shed on its account, and when we contemplate the shocking and disgraceful mummeries of which it has been, and is to this day, the scene; we truly wish that, like the body of Moses, the site of our Lord's death and resurrection had been altogether hid from the knowledge of men. But here they are; and the only question is, whether they are the true sites or not. It is admitted, that there is much to say in behalf of the historical evidence for the site, even if the history of Helena's discoveries be altogether disregarded; and, it is only of late years that its identity has, chiefly on topographical grounds, been

disputed. The Holy Sepulchre is nearly in the middle of the present town; and, whatever may have been the alterations of the general site, it is very difficult to believe that Jerusalem could, in the time of Christ, have been so narrow in that part as to place the present site of the Holy Sepulchre outside the walls. And we know that our Lord "suffered without the gate," Heb. xiii. 12, 13. The more we know of topography, the greater does this difficulty appear; and, although one or two recent travellers affirm that it is not insurmountable, the present writer can tell from experience that any practical map-maker, in drawing a plan of Jerusalem, will feel embarrassed and disheartened if required to lay down the second wall so as to leave the site at present assigned to the Holy Sepulchre on the outside, as the belief in its identity requires.

Over the site supposed to be thus ascertained, a splendid and spacious church was erected. It was completed and dedicated in the year 335; and in order to give importance to the occasion, a council of bishops, which had been convened by order of the emperor, at Tyre, from all the provinces of the empire, was directed to adjourn to Jerusalem, and take part in this high

solemnity. Among them was Eusebius of Cæsarea, the ecclesiastical historian, to whom we owe the knowledge of these transactions.

All the interest of Constantine and his mother was concentrated upon the Christian memorials of Jerusalem. The site of the ancient temple was not comprehended in their plans; and it does not appear that even the heathen temple was demolished, although it could no longer be used for idolatrous worship. In the time of Jerome, towards the close of this century, the equestrian statue of Adrian still stood upon the supposed place of the holy of holies.

By Constantine, the edict excluding the Jews altogether from the holy city was so far repealed, that they were permitted to enter it once a year, to wail over the desolations of the Lord's temple. When the nephew of Constantine, the emperor Julian, renounced Christianity for the old paganism, he attempted, as a matter of policy, to conciliate the Jews. They were allowed free access to Jerusalem, and were even permitted to rebuild their temple. The circumstances of that remarkable transaction are too important in the history of Jerusalem to be overlooked.

The object of Julian seems to have been that of discouraging and bringing discredit upon the religion he had forsaken. To this end, he thought nothing could be more effectual than patronising the Jews as the inveterate enemies of Christ and of the Christian name. At the very beginning of his reign, he promised them to rebuild their temple. The letter, containing this promise, is still preserved to us; and Sozomen justly deduces from it that it was obviously the policy of Julian, first to destroy Christianity by the Jews, and then to destroy Judaism by the heathen. Many circumstances delayed the execution of this intention, and it was not till towards the end of his reign, in 362 A.D., that all things were ready for the commencement of the work.

This intention, and the preparation for the work, excited much alarm among the Christians, which Cyril, at that time bishop of Jerusalem, laboured earnestly to dispel. He encouraged them with strong assurances of the futility of the enterprise; and when the Jews exulted in the prosperous condition of their affairs, and were beginning to talk of their old pretensions to universal empire, and to threaten the Christians with utter extirpation, this venerable man,

strong in faith, assured his brethren that all these menaces were vain, that the prophecies of Christ were certain, and could never fail; and that, as he had declared that another (Jewish) temple should never be built, they might calmly rest in that assured and effectual promise.

This conviction was sanctioned by the event. The very night before the foundations were to be laid, there was a mighty earthquake, which not only scattered about all the stones which were designed for the foundation, but threw down all the buildings that were about the site. In the morning, when the workmen thought that all was over, and the multitude ran together to succour those whom the fall of the buildings had buried in the ruins, and to get out the materials which had been thrown into the excavations for the lower part of the destined fabric, there suddenly issued from that part an immense ball of fire, which ran along the ground for some time, burning the Jews who stood near, or who crossed its fiery path. This happened repeatedly, at short intervals, throughout the day, till at length the perseverance and obstinacy of the Jews were fairly overcome, and they abandoned the undertaking in despair.

The reality of these circumstances, and

whether, if they really occurred, they were natural or miraculous, are points which have been greatly disputed. That these things, or something very similar, really happened, seems to have been historically proved; and, allowing for some exaggerations, we find nothing which natural agencies might not have produced. The real question, therefore, is, whether the Almighty did not, by a *special* interposition of his providence, awaken these agencies at the particular time, and for the particular purpose. In attending to this question, we must ask whether the object which was thus brought to nought, were one which God might be expected to interfere to prevent? and whether the occasion were worthy of his honour and glory? We think that both these questions must be answered in the affirmative; and we are, therefore, not prepared to deny that there was in this remarkable affair a special interposition of Him "that sitteth in the heavens," to bring to foolishness the counsels of ungodly men against his truth.

From the time of Constantine, the city of Jerusalem became more than it ever had been the object of attraction to the Christian world; and that great tide of pilgrims began to flow from

all lands towards Mount Zion, which continued to roll thither—subject to occasional checks —for many ages. More than one of the ecclesiastical fathers, who lived later in the century which witnessed the adornment of Jerusalem by Constantine, saw and lamented the evils which were growing out of this propensity to pilgrimage to the holy places, as a ground of merit before God. The eloquent Gregory of Nyssa, who was at Jerusalem in 370, is careful to explain, in a letter to a friend, that he went there on business connected with the Arian controversy, and not on pilgrimage. He shows, that the Scriptures do not reckon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem among the number of good works; and, that such journeys conduce not to virtue, or make one more fit for heaven. If Jerusalem were more enriched with grace than other countries, it might be expected that the inhabitants would be less wicked; but, so far as he had observed, the very contrary was the fact, and there was no place more addicted to crimes of the very blackest dye. The journey which he had himself undertaken, had not been conducted without neglect of religious duties, and had not been necessary for the increase of his faith. Before he saw Bethlehem, he believed

that the Son of God had assumed flesh in the womb of a virgin ; he believed the resurrection before he saw the Holy Sepulchre ; and he confessed the glorious ascension before he saluted the Mount of Olives. One only thing he had learned from his journey—that his own country was far more holy than foreign lands. It is not by change of clime that we come near to God, but rather he will come to us, wherever we be, if our soul be made meet for his habitation ; while, on the contrary, if with hearts full of iniquity we fly to Golgotha, to Mount Olivet, or to the Holy Sepulchre, we shall still be as far from Christ as if we had never known the principles of the faith.

Somewhat later, even Jerome, though himself living as a monk in Palestine, (at Bethlehem,) writes in very much the same strain, to dissuade a friend from coming to the Holy Land. He says, " The city to be sought after and extolled, is not that which killed the prophets and shed the blood of Christ ; but that which is made glad by the streams of the river, that which is set upon an hill and cannot be hid ; that which the apostle calls the mother of the saints, in which he glories to be a fellow-citizen with the righteous. I dare not confine the omnipotence

of God in so narrow a boundary, nor limit within a certain district Him whom the heavens cannot contain. Believers will be weighed, not by diversity of clime, but by their measure of faith ; and the true worshippers worship the Father, neither at Jerusalem, nor yet on Mount Gerizim, for 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.' 'The wind bloweth where it listeth.' 'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. After that the fleece of Judæa was dry, and the whole world sprinkled with the heavenly dew ; and many have come from the east and from the west, and laid down in Abraham's bosom ; from thenceforth, God is not known in Jewry only ; His name is great not in Israel alone ; but the voice of the apostles has gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world. The place of the cross, and of the resurrection, may be profitable to those who take up their cross daily, and rise with Christ, and show themselves meet for such an habitation ; but, for those who say, 'the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,' they must be reminded of the apostle's words, 'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.' An entrance into the kingdom of heaven is open,

equally from Britain as from Jerusalem; for the 'kingdom of God is within you.'"

It is refreshing to meet, in that age, with views of the matter of pilgrimage so just and so spiritual. But occasional protests of this kind had little effect; and the roads to Zion still continued to be covered with pilgrims, and the land abounded with monasteries occupied by persons who wished to live and to die amid the scenes which the Saviour's presence had rendered sacred in their eyes.

After much struggle of conflicting dignities, Jerusalem was, in 451 A.D., declared a patriarchate by the council of Chalcedon. In the next century, the city found a second Constantine in Justinian, who ascended the imperial throne in 527 A.D. He repaired the former structure; and he built upon Mount Moriah a magnificent church to the Virgin, as a memorial of the presentation of Jesus in the temple. The descriptions given of its situation and character, would suggest that it is no other than the present mosque el-Aksa, at the southern extremity of the inclosure of Mount Moriah. This building is universally regarded by the oriental Christians and Frank Catholics at Jerusalem, as an ancient Christian church, once

dedicated to the virgin; and the latter now give it the name of the Church of the Presentation. The earlier travellers also speak of it as a Christian church; and several travellers who have of late years been permitted to survey it, describe it in the same manner. One of them, an architect, states, that the structure is similar in appearance to those raised in the early ages of Christianity. This is a point of some interest; for, if the mosque of el-Aksa is correctly indicated as the church built by Justinian, it is beyond dispute the most ancient entire building now existing within Jerusalem. Justinian also founded ten or eleven convents in and about Jerusalem and Jericho, and established an hospital for pilgrims in each of these cities.

But these prosperous days of Jerusalem were soon brought to a close. The Persians, who had long harassed the empire of the east, penetrated into Syria, in 614 A.D., and, after defeating the forces of the emperor Heraclius, took Jerusalem by storm. Many thousands of the inhabitants were slain, and much of the city was destroyed—including the finest churches; and among them that of the Holy Sepulchre. When the conquerors withdrew, they took away the principal inhabitants, and that portion of "the

true cross" which Helena had left in Jerusalem. This last loss filled relic-loving Christendom with grief and horror. When peace was concluded, the recovery of this precious memorial was made a great object; and, when it was restored, the emperor had it carried to Constantinople, and then to Jerusalem, in such pomp that on his arrival before the latter city, he found the gates barred against him, and entrance forbidden. Instructed as to the cause of this hinderance, the emperor laid aside the trappings of his greatness, and, barefooted, bore on his own shoulders the sacred relic up to the gate, which then opened freely and allowed him to enter.

The damages occasioned by the Persians were soon repaired. But Arabia soon furnished a more formidable enemy in the hosts of the khalif Omar, which appeared before the city, in 636 A.D., after Arabia, Syria, and Egypt had already submitted to the Moslem yoke. After a siege of four months, during which the Arabs suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, a capitulation was proposed and agreed to; and the austere khalif, who had meanwhile arrived in the camp, entered the holy city, riding upon a red camel, which carried a bag of corn and another of dates—without guards,

or any token which might distinguish the conqueror of the east from a common traveller. He conducted himself with great moderation and good faith ; and much solicitude was evinced by him to prevent the violation of the treaty by his followers. A mosque—called from him the mosque of Omar—was built on the site of Solomon's temple ; and the name is retained by the more recent and more magnificent structure which was afterwards erected on the same site, and which remains to this day the most conspicuous and magnificent building in Jerusalem. The structure was built in the place of Omar's humble mosque by Abd-el-Malik ibn Marwan, the tenth khalif. It was commenced in the year 693, and completed in three years. It is said that the khalif spent upon the structure, the produce of a seven years' tax upon Egypt, amounting to 100,000 dinars ; and the Arabian historians are lost in admiration at the munificence of the expenditure, and the grandeur of the design.

From the time of the conquest by Omar, and especially after the erection of the mosque on Mount Moriah, Jerusalem became an object of almost as much attention to the Moslem as to the Christian devotees. The zeal of the latter

was not at all abated by the occupation of the holy city by the infidels, and pilgrims continued to flock thither from all parts of Christendom. The resident Christians enjoyed peace and protection, and the pilgrims were subject to no material annoyance under the immediate successors of Omar, nor until the accession of the house of Abbas in the year 749. From that time there was a marked change in the conduct of the Moslems towards Christians residing at, or on a pilgrimage to, Jerusalem; and their treatment became absolutely atrocious, when the dominion over Syria was acquired by the Fatemite khalifs of Egypt. One of these khalifs—the notorious Hakem, whom the Druses of Lebanon at this day worship as the last incarnation of the Deity—was a terrible scourge to Jerusalem. To relieve himself from a suspicion of being favourable to the Christians, he set about destroying all their best churches. Among the churches thus demolished, was that of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, which was completely overthrown; and another point seems to have been made of destroying the tomb itself by levelling it with the ground. The Christians themselves were reduced to such extremities as they had not experienced since their subjection

by the Moslems. They were ruined by heavy exactions; and the liberty of worship, which they had hitherto enjoyed, was withdrawn from them. The successor of Hakem allowed the church of the Holy Sepulchre to be rebuilt; but the Christians themselves still remained subject to insult and oppression.

At length the Seljukian Turks, who had possessed themselves of all the power which was still claimed by the khalifs of Bagdad, wrested Palestine from the Egyptian sultans, and their fierce fanaticism soon subjected the Christians to those terrible afflictions which eventually aroused the whole of western Europe to arms, in defence of their oppressed brethren in the east.

CHAPTER III.

JERUSALEM DURING THE CRUSADES.

Yet pilgrims still crowded towards Jerusalem with increasing ardour. The cause of this seems to have been, in a very general belief, that the second coming of Christ was nigh at hand. This belief arose from the abounding iniquity of the times, in which serious men thought they recognised the signs which the Scriptures had described as the harbingers of the Lord's second appearance. This expectation awakened the consciousness of sins, to be blotted out; and men have always been far more ready to attempt this by their own works, and, in that age more especially, by toilsome pilgrimages, than to cast themselves unreservedly, all unclean as they are—upon the full, free, and sufficient atonement of our blessed Redeemer.

It was by one of these pilgrims—an obscure French hermit named Peter—that the spark was kindled which threw Europe into a blaze,

and produced one of the most remarkable and destructive explosions which the world has ever witnessed. He had come as a pilgrim to Jerusalem in 1094, where his sympathies were awakened by the sufferings of the native church, and his indignation aroused by the flagitious practices of its Moslem oppressors. A heavy tribute in gold,* which not one in a thousand of the pilgrims could produce, was exacted for admission to the city ; and the payment of this sum for them, together with the cost of their maintenance, greatly impoverished the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. Both they and the pilgrims were constantly exposed to insults in their visits to the holy places, whose presumed sanctity was no protection against the infidels. The churches, which had been repaired and adorned with much labour and cost, were not free from the violent intrusion of the unbelievers, who derided the solemnities which they witnessed, and treated both the ministers and worshippers with cruelty and insult. Peter saw all these things with a kindling eye ; and at length he determined to devote himself to the

* The sum was an *aureus*, or gold bysant, equal to about a guinea in nominal value; but in real value, arising from the difference in the prices of metals and commodities, equal to scarcely less than ten pounds of our money.

great object of redress. This remarkable man is described as being short in stature, and otherwise of mean appearance; but although his "bodily presence was weak," his speech was *not* contemptible. He was gifted with a pleasing flow of eloquence, which, aided by an indomitable spirit, a ready mind, and a most piercing eye, he turned to the best account in describing the miseries he had witnessed, and in calling upon the nations of Christendom to take vengeance upon the oppressor, and to rescue the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the unbelievers.

Princes and peoples responded to the hermit's call, and vast was the host which set forth under different leaders to accomplish this mighty task. Tens of thousands perished or fell off by the way, and it was but a spare remnant which, on the seventh of June, 1099, reached the holy city, and sat down under its walls.

Meanwhile the Fatemite khalifs of Egypt had succeeded in expelling the Turks, and in recovering possession of Jerusalem. Aware of the impending storm, the new governor put the place in a condition of defence, and laid in much store and ammunition, for the approaching siege. At an assembly of the Moslem inhabitants held in the court of the great mosque upon Mount Moriah,

it was proposed that the Christians in the city should be put to the sword, and that the very rock of the Holy Sepulchre should be rooted up, so as to remove for ever the object of the present expedition. Only the apprehension of exasperating beyond all bounds the enemies they dreaded, prevented the execution of this purpose. But as it was, they imposed a heavy tax upon the Christians, and expelled all but the aged, the sick, the women, and children, from the city.

After some days spent in pressing the siege with vigour, it was found that nothing effectual could be accomplished without military engines, and nearly a month was spent in preparing them, during which the invading host suffered dreadfully from thirst, and still more from an infectious disorder which broke out in their camp. All being at length ready, a grand assault was made upon the city on the 14th of July, which was met by a stout and desperate resistance on the part of the besieged. Night left the result undecided; and at the dawn of the next morning, the fierce combat was renewed by men determined to conquer or to die. They conquered. When the result seemed to tremble in the balance, one mighty effort enabled Godfrey of Bouillon and his brother Eustace,

at the head of a chosen band, to plant their feet upon the wall. The Moslems then fled in all directions: and other divisions of the Christian host, witnessing this success, hastened to apply the ladders; the north gate was opened—the Crusaders poured in—and the Christians were once more masters of Jerusalem.

The history of the world, from its beginning hitherto, offers few days so dreadful as that 15th of July, 1099. The warfare they had waged, the resistance they had met, had awakened an inextinguishable thirst for blood in these stern warriors and maddened enthusiasts. And amply was this thirst slaked that day in the high places of Jerusalem. The carnage was terrible, and without distinction of age or sex. Ten thousand, who had taken refuge in the high mosque and its courts, were slaughtered wholesale, and the marble pavement flowed ankle-deep with blood. Awful was it to see the limbs of the slain floating, and their bodies engulfed in that crimson tide; and not less awful to behold the grim warriors, black with the toil of battle, and stained with human gore, standing with reeking swords over the slain. Nor was this all; for in the city itself, numbers without account were slaughtered; and Jeru-

salem, from end to end, was one scene of carnage and massacre.

When the work of blood had stayed, the warriors reckoned that they had rendered God service; that they had consummated, by the re-capture of the holy city, and by the slaughter of the enemies of the cross, their labours and sufferings in what they regarded as his cause: and the transition which followed was therefore not inconsistent, although it contributes much to render the day the most remarkable in the history of enthusiasm. Guards having been stationed at the gates and towers, as a precaution against a sudden attack—the whole multitude having laid aside their weapons, blunted with slaughter, washed their hands and changed their raiment; and with bare feet, and groans and tears, and every outward indication of a contrite and humble spirit, mingled with hymns of praise, they proceeded to view the holy places which they at such high cost had ransomed from the hands of unbelievers. Each sacred memorial was kissed and embraced with unspeakable fervour and devotion. Their tears of joy and gratitude flowed fast, and their sobs and groans bore witness of their deep emotion. The privileges of that hour seemed to them

their all-sufficient reward ; all worldly gain appeared in their eyes but dross, and they scattered with lavish hand among those who had nothing, the spoils they had lately seized with greediness.

When the dead had been buried and the city purified from blood, the conquerors proceeded to elect one of their leaders as king of Jerusalem ; and Godfrey of Bouillon was the hero on whom their united suffrages conferred that remarkable distinction. But he declined to assume any other than the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre ; and he refused the diadem and other marks of royalty, declaring that no consideration should induce him to put on a crown of gold in that place where the Lord Jesus had worn a crown of thorns.

The choice of ministers of the church was less judicious. One Arnold de Rohes was appointed chief pastor of the church of Jerusalem, without any regard to the Greek patriarch Simon, who was in the isle of Cyprus, whence he had sent victuals to the Crusaders during the siege, and afforded them all the assistance in his power. Arnold made some stir among the Crusaders, by urging the claim of the church to the treasures seized by Tancred in the mosque of Omar ; but

his pretensions were repulsed by that haughty hero with disdain, and were not supported by the other chiefs. One of the first cares of the king was to provide for the orderly celebration of divine service; and such arrangements as were in those times deemed suitable, were made for that purpose in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, in that of Gethsemane, and in the mosque of Omar, which was turned into a Christian church under the name of "the temple of the Lord." An altar of white marble was set up on the sacred rock—a fact which is to this day lamented by the Moslems as an awful desecration of that holy place.

The realm of Godfrey was not very extensive, consisting only of Jerusalem, Joppa, and about a score of villages. The sultan of Egypt, when he heard that Jerusalem had been won by the Christians, sent against them a mighty army, under the command of his vizier Al-Afdhal. But he was met in the plain of Ascalon by the Crusaders, who achieved a brilliant victory over the Moslem host.

Baldwin, the prince of Edessa, and Bohemond, the prince of Antioch, having come to Jerusalem, Godfrey, with their assistance, laboured to lay the foundation of a code for the government of

the new kingdom. This task was completed by his successors; and this code, which introduced into the east the feudal constitution of Europe, is known by the name of the Assizes of Jerusalem.

The reign of Godfrey was scarcely of one year's duration. He died in the month of July, 1100, and was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where his victorious sword was hung up, and where his tomb, and that of his brother Baldwin, were shown till destroyed by the great fire of 1808.

Bohemond, who was appointed to succeed Godfrey, having been taken captive by the Turks, Baldwin, the brother of the deceased king, was, at Christmas, 1100, crowned in the church at Bethlehem; for he would not suffer the crown to be set upon his head in the holy city, where, as he said—repeating, with some amplification, the striking sentiment of his brother—"the Lord Jesus, the King of kings and Lord of lords, who humbled himself unto death for the redemption of the world, wore a crown of sharp and torturing thorns."

Baldwin was a valiant and successful warrior. He subdued Arsouf, Cæsarea, Acre, and other towns on the coast; and he even caused his

power to be felt beyond the Jordan, whence he gleaned the native Christians who were there trembling under Moslem oppression, and planted them in Jerusalem. In the midst of his victories, his life was taken from him, in 1118; and his remains were brought from Egypt, where he died, and deposited over against those of his brother Godfrey.

The reign of Baldwin II., his successor, was less fortunate than those of his predecessors. In 1122, while he was in the neighbourhood of Edessa, seeking means to deliver Jocelyn de Courtenay and his cousin Galeran, who had been made prisoners by Balac, an emir of the Turcomans, he fell himself into the hands of that chief, who took him to Haran, in Mesopotamia, so celebrated in the history of Abraham and of Jacob. After the conquest of Tyre by the Crusaders in 1124, Baldwin took advantage of the confusion that ensued among the Moslems to treat for his ransom, and without much difficulty obtained his liberty. The spoils of a victory obtained in the territory of Damascus enabled him to redeem the hostages he had left in the hands of the Turcomans. He died in 1131, after a disastrous expedition against Damascus. It was in this reign that the

Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers, both destined to make a great figure in the history not only of Palestine but of Europe, obtained the formal approval of the pope to their institutions.

The aged Fulk, count of Anjou — the father, by a former marriage, of our English Plantagenets — arrived in Palestine in the year 1129, having espoused Melisenda, the eldest daughter of Baldwin II., and the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem; for Baldwin had no male children. In her right he became king on the death of Baldwin. The only important event of his reign was the taking of Paneas (the Cæsarea Philippi of Scripture, and at present Banias); for Fulk was too far gone in years to sustain, by his example, the military spirit of the Christians, which was already on the decline. He died at Acre in 1142, leaving behind him two children, Baldwin and Amaury. The former, who was only fourteen years old, succeeded, and his mother Melisenda assumed the regency of the kingdom. When the young king became of age to reign for himself, one of his first acts was to go to take possession of the town of Bozrah in the Hauran, which the governor, who held it

for the prince of Damascus, had promised to deliver up to him. But this expedition had a most disastrous result; and the Christian army, after experiencing all sorts of miseries, returned to Jerusalem covered with confusion and disgrace.

It was at this period that a new power came into the field against the Christians. The emir Emad-ed-din Zenghi, founder of the dynasty of the Attabeks of Irak, reduced the city of Edessa, and consummated his victory by a most horrible carnage of the Christians in that city. This was in 1144, and was the exciting cause of the second crusade, which was chiefly brought about through the preaching and influence of that very remarkable and highly gifted man, Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux. This crusade was finally resolved upon in the assembly held at Vezelay, on the 21st of March, 1146, at which the French king himself received the cross at the hands of Bernard. The abbot then proceeded to the diet held at Spires by the emperor Conrad III., who was so much kindled by his words of fire, that he also took the cross, together with his nephew Frederic. Each of these monarchs assembled an immense army, and set forth for the Holy Land.

But, betrayed by the Greek emperor, Manuel Commenus, and beaten by the Turks, Louis and Conrad brought only the mere *débris* of their mighty armies to Palestine, in the year 1148. In an assembly convoked at Acre by Baldwin III., it was decided to lay siege to Damascus. This was done; and the city was on the point of yielding to the vigorous assaults of the Christian forces, and the besieged were providing for their retreat, when discord and treachery in the camp of the besiegers brought the enterprise to nothing. Several barons and officers in the Christian army demanded of the princes, some the government of, and others different commands in, the city which was about to fall into their hands. Finding their pretensions repulsed, they entered into a correspondence with the Moslems, from whom they received large sums of money. They then relaxed the operations of the siege; and in various ways acted so much to the delay and the detriment of the proceedings, that when news came that the princes of Aleppo and Mosul were approaching in strong force, the siege was abandoned in despair. History scarcely records a military transaction more disgracefully conducted. So deep was the

corruption, that an oriental Christian author of credit, Abúlfaragi, had reason to know or believe that Baldwin himself—Baldwin, the king of Jerusalem, received from the prince of Damascus two hundred thousand pieces of money—copper money gilt.

Louis and Conrad returned in disgust and confusion to Jerusalem. The German emperor was so deeply stung at the treachery which had, in this and other instances, been practised, that he soon abandoned the cause with indignation, and returned to his own country. Louis remained longer in Palestine; but only as a simple pilgrim. The miserable result of this crusade revealed to the Moslems that they had little to dread from the once redoubtable warriors of the cross; and the Christian states which had been established in Asia declined with wonderful speed, hastening rapidly to their fall.

After this the attabek, or, as he is usually styled, the sultan Noureddin, the son of Zenghi, extended his power greatly in Mesopotamia and Syria. Baldwin III., who found it necessary to take some steps to check his progress, first strengthened his realm by the acquisition of Ascalon, which he took, after an obstinate and

protracted siege, in 1153. Not long after, Noureddin made himself master of Damascus, which thenceforth became the seat of his dominion; and this conquest rendered his power still more redoubtable, and made him a fixed and most dangerous neighbour to the weakened realm of the Crusaders. The very year following, namely, in 1153, Baldwin was sorely beaten by Noureddin in the plains beyond the Jordan. The king, who wanted not courage, was left almost alone upon the field of battle, and encountered the most imminent perils in making his way to the fortress of Safet, in which he found refuge. It was in the same year that Baldwin espoused the daughter of the Greek emperor, Manuel; and this alliance helped, in some degree, to retrieve the financial condition of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had fallen into the most melancholy disorder.

The remainder of Baldwin's reign offers no fact of much importance. The intestine quarrels in the holy city, where the proud Hospitallers refused to pay the tithe of their goods to the clergy, formed the most marked circumstance of the time. The clergy poured down showers of most unchristian anathemas upon the military

monks, who, on their part, retorted in many deeds of violence and outrage, till the death of the patriarch Foucher put an end to the contest and to the scandal it occasioned.

Reginald of Chatillon, the prince of Antioch, having been taken prisoner by the Moslems, in 1162, king Baldwin proceeded to Antioch to assume the reins of this government. There he was attacked by a serious disease, and removed to Tripoli, and thence to Beirout, where he died in 1162, in the thirty-third year of his age. The historian of this period, William of Tyre, lays Baldwin's death to the door of the Syrian physicians, who, he says, administered to him poisoned pills. The corpse was removed to Jerusalem and buried there. Baldwin left no children; and it was not till after much debate, that his brother Amaury was recognised as his successor.

Amaury, during the first year of his government, directed his arms against the khalif of Egypt, who had, some time before, thought himself strong enough to refuse any longer to pay tribute to the crown of Jerusalem, and believed that crown too feeble to enforce its claim. When Amaury felt himself in a condition to act, the circumstances of Egypt seemed favourable

to his enterprise. The country had become the theatre of a civil war, occasioned by the rival ambition of two viziers, each of whom sought power for himself. One of them, named Schawer, having been driven out by the other, repaired to Damascus, and implored the aid of the attabek Noureddin, who was but too glad to have an excuse for interfering in the affairs of Egypt, which he had long coveted for himself. He sent an army to the banks of the Nile, under the command of one of his lieutenants, named Schirkou. The Egyptian khalif, Adhed Ledin-Allah, finding himself utterly unable to cope with this new adversary, sought the alliance of Amaury against Noureddin, and made to the Christians the most brilliant promises for their assistance. Amaury accordingly turned his arms against the forces of Noureddin, which he defeated in several engagements, and was recompensed with profuse liberality by the khalif.

Nothing but great principles can sustain great actions. The former, the Christians now in Syria had not. The principle of the crusade itself had been false and hollow, notwithstanding the fair and even illustrious show which it made—and still makes—to the undisciplined

eye—the eye untrained to measure the acts that seem great by the unerring standard of God's word. But even that fair show had now disappeared; and in the place of the dignified and chivalrous princes and knights, who first trod with beating hearts this sacred soil, we behold their successors, fighting for pay in the behalf of one set of unbelievers against another. This was against the most elementary principle of their own cause; and therefore, in whatever view it might have been regarded in the case of others, in them it was most degrading and scandalous; and is a strong indication of the demoralization into which the Christian forces in Syria had fallen. The time had been when no Moslem prince would have ventured to imagine that these "men of the cross" would, under any earthly inducement, draw a sword in his cause: but the time has come, when a Moslem prince imagines, and finds it true, that gold can sufficiently prevail upon them to employ all their strength on his behalf.

With these facts before us, we are not entitled to feel any surprise on finding Amaury proving unfaithful to the Moslem king for whom he had fought, and whose gold had been showered lavishly upon him. Having, for the

present, rid the Egyptian prince of his adversary, and accepted the gifts with which he acknowledged the benefit, the king of Jerusalem, in violation of the faith of treaties, and of the common obligations of honourable men, proceeded to turn to his own advantage the footing he had gained in Egypt, and the discoveries respecting the nakedness of the land which his position of an ally had enabled him to make. All on a sudden, he turned his arms against that ally, by laying siege to Bilbeis, and having speedily gained possession of that place, he led his forces to Cairo. This was in 1168. Here many fresh promises and much gold induced Amaury to suspend hostilities: but when he was about to transport to Jerusalem the treasures of Egypt, he was obliged to withdraw from the presence of a powerful army which Noureddin, at the urgent entreaty of the Egyptian khalif, had sent to deliver his recent enemy from the clutches of his Christian allies.

The Fatemite dynasty in Egypt had long been tottering to its fall, and these circumstances completed its overthrow. Schirkou, who, as before, held the command of the Syrian army, caused himself to be nominated generalissimo of the armies of Egypt, and in that

capacity governed the kingdom—the shadow only of power, and scarcely that, being left to the khalif Adhed. Not long after, when Schirkou died, his nephew, Salah-ed-din Yussuf, replaced him as actual ruler of Egypt. This is that hero commonly known as Saladin—renowned in history, in poetry, and in romance—who put an end to the Fatemite dynasty in Egypt, who superseded the attabek rule in Syria, and who, after a long and fierce struggle, drove the Christian warriors from Palestine, and planted the Moslem standard once more upon the walls of Jerusalem. This was the work of many years, the history of which offers many points of interest to the reader, which the limits and the plan of this work enable us only very briefly to indicate.

The death of the khalif Adhed, in 1171, ended the Fatemite dynasty in Egypt; but it had virtually ceased somewhat sooner, from the time that Saladin, acting under the orders of Noureddin, had commanded that prayers should be no longer offered for Adhed in the mosques of Egypt, and that the name of the orthodox khalif of Baghdad should be substituted for his. Saladin had ruled sovereignly both before and after the death of Adhed; but he

still found it prudent to profess himself the lieutenant of Noureddin, and to declare that he governed for him: and although he yielded Noureddin no obedience, and transmitted to him no revenue, he ventured not wholly to throw off the mask of empty homage while that great monarch lived. To this course he was determined by the advice of his father Ayyub. There was a time when Noureddin was more than suspicious of Saladin's allegiance; and he gave out that it was his intention to undertake an expedition against him, with all the forces he could command. Greatly alarmed at this news, Saladin summoned a council. One advised that they should prepare to repel force by force. "By no means," said the crafty old Ayyub; "if Noureddin should do us the honour to pay us a visit here, I would prostrate myself before him." Then, turning to Saladin, he continued, "Son, write to our master Noureddin without delay, and tell him that if he will be pleased to send any of his slaves with a towel to tie about your neck, in order to draw you after him into Syria, you will follow him with the utmost alacrity to your sovereign's court." The council then broke up; and Ayyub, waiting upon his son in his

own apartment, addressed him in these words:—"Be of good courage, son. If Noureddin attempts to penetrate into Egypt, I myself will head your forces against him. But let us keep our counsel to ourselves. For though you shall not send him so much as a single sugar-cane, if he demand it, you must not openly assert your independence of him. If this were done, he would lay aside all his other designs, and particularly the war he is now meditating against the Franks, and attack you with his whole power; the consequence of which, as the issues of war are always uncertain, no man can foresee. Whereas by pretending to maintain your allegiance to him, you will gain time, and be thereby enabled, with the Divine assistance, to weather the impending storm." This politic but unprincipled advice was followed by Saladin; and it is mentioned here because it affords a clue to the right understanding of the relative position of the parties engaged in the transactions of this period.

Noureddin died in 1174; and Saladin, who at first kept up the show of allegiance to the lad who succeeded him, availed himself of the strifes and troubles that arose under the

minority of the young prince, to obtain possession of the greater part of his dominions; and a few years more saw him master of nearly all the fair realm of the attabeks of Syria, which, being added to Egypt, made Saladin one of the most potent monarchs which had for a long time ruled in those parts. Amaury, the king of Jerusalem, who had unwittingly ministered to the birth and development of a power which was destined to grind his realm to powder, died in 1173, the year before Noureddin, and therefore some years before the power of Saladin had been thus aggrandised. But he lived long enough to witness its rapid growth, and to feel something and to dread more of its effects. He sent urgent but vain cries across the waters, to the Christians of the west, for assistance in arresting the progress of this new and redoubtable enemy, and in averting the cloud which seemed to hang over his kingdom. He left a throne surrounded with perils to his son Baldwin IV., a frail infant of three years old.

During the minority of Baldwin IV., the regency was held by Raymond III., count of Tripoli. In the year 1177, Saladin marched a most formidable army out of Egypt into the maritime parts of Palestine, with the full

intention of driving the Franks from thence. Having posted himself at Ascalon, the sultan sent out numerous detachments to ravage the country; and having thus incautiously weakened his army, he was attacked with great fury by the Franks under the nominal command of the young king himself, but under the actual direction of Reginald of Chatillon, lord of Kerak, celebrated in Arabian histories under the name of al-Bornas. The Moslems sustained a terrible overthrow. Great numbers were slain, and the rest fled with the utmost precipitation. Having no garrison to flee to, they hurried in the utmost confusion across the desert between Palestine and Egypt, and scarcely stopped till they reached Cairo. In this flight, through a region which yielded no water, they suffered dreadfully from thirst, which destroyed all their beasts of burden. By far the greater part of Saladin's army perished in the action and retreat. The sultan himself barely escaped with his life, for the Franks penetrated almost to the post he occupied, which struck him with such terror that he betook himself to a precipitate flight, abandoning his camp to the enemy. In a letter which Saladin wrote to his brother Turan Shah, at Damascus, the sultan frankly

avows that he was more than once in the most imminent danger; and that God had, as he humbly apprehended, delivered him from it, in order to reserve him for the execution of some great and important designs. To see a Mohammedan conqueror thus acknowledging the providence of God, and his own subservience to His will, is a most interesting, and, in some points of view, a most affecting spectacle, and ministers a powerful rebuke to those who, while they are professed believers in a doctrine which teaches that all events are dependent upon God, and that all circumstances work together to accomplish his will, yet talk and act as if all that is done in the world were brought about by the will or power of man, or were the result of fortuitous contingencies. Saladin soon had his revenge. In 1179, he again advanced into Palestine, in another direction, and fell upon the Christians on the banks of the Jordan, near Jacob's Bridge, and took by assault the fortress which the Franks had built there for the defence of Galilee and the banks of the Jordan, and the remains of which are seen to this day. It was only a great public calamity that sheathed the devouring sword. A famine, which then raged in these countries, determined

Saladin to conclude a truce of two years with the kingdom of Jerusalem; and having done this he retired into Egypt.

King Baldwin IV. had long since been afflicted with leprosy, which occasioned the loss of his sight. This obliged him to consign the command of his forces to Guy de Lusignan, who had not then been long in the Holy Land, and to whom the king had given in marriage his eldest sister Sibylla. Lusignan showed himself but little worthy of, or equal to, the high and responsible post which had been committed to him by the king. Saladin, after the expiration of the truce, had invaded Galilee from the side of Damascus; and his troops carried all before them, taking towns, destroying villages, and inflicting great barbarities upon the people, sparing neither woman nor child: and all this may be said to have been done in the presence of an army of 20,000 men commanded by Guy, who would not venture to attack the Moslems, and whom, indeed, Saladin sought in vain to bring to a battle. The murmurs against Lusignan, which on this occasion arose in all parts of the country, were not unheeded by the king, who, partaking of the general indignation, removed him from

the command of the army, which he bestowed, together with the general administration of the kingdom, upon count Raymond of Tripoli. At the same time, to fix the succession, he caused the son of his sister Sibylla, by her first husband the marquis of Montserrat, a child of five years old, to be formally crowned, under the name of Baldwin v. He also had the happiness of concluding a new and not dishonourable truce with Saladin; and having thus put the affairs of his kingdom in the best posture that circumstances would allow, he departed this life in 1185.

It had undoubtedly been the wish and intention of the late king, that the government of the kingdom should be administered during the minority of his successor, by the count of Tripoli, whom he knew to be equal to the task, and not by Lusignan, whom he knew to be utterly unequal to it. But Sibylla, the mother of the king, and she in whose right he reigned, was by no means satisfied with this arrangement, and strove to transfer the regency to her husband. The dissensions on this point were still high, when Baldwin v. died suddenly, only seven months after the death of his uncle. According to some historians, he was poisoned

by Raymond, while others ascribe the child's death to the wicked ambition of his mother. No one ought to believe this of any mother, without the most undoubted evidence, which in this case does not exist; and the report, or suspicion, probably had no other foundation than the knowledge of her unscrupulous character, her absorbing devotement to the interest of her second husband, joined to the fact that he and she were the parties who made the death of the infant king instrumental to their own aggrandisement. In spite of the active opposition of the count of Tripoli and most of the barons, who wished to bestow the crown upon Humphrey de Thoron, husband of Isabella, the second daughter of Amaury, the intrigues of Sibylla were successful, and she was crowned together with her husband, Guy de Lusignan, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

The effeminate and inefficient character of the new king, the strife of parties, and the extreme laxity of morals which reigned in the holy city, and of which the patriarch Heraclius himself was a most notorious example, were manifest signs, which the wise even then understood, of the approaching ruin of the kingdom of Jerusalem. The eloquent historian of the

Crusades (Michaud) well remarks:—"The old enemy of the human soul exerted to the utmost his powers of seduction, and reigned over all things in Jerusalem. The nations which had received from this country the light of truth, now obtained from it examples of all the iniquities; and Jesus Christ, contemned in his own heritage, abandoned it to destruction, and permitted the sword of Saladin to become the instrument of his wrath."

William of Tyre, and other Christian writers of the time, ascribe the troubles that followed, to the disappointed ambition of the late regent, count Raymond of Tripoli; they say that he entered into a secret confederacy with Saladin, and that he even became a Moslem, and submitted to the initiatory rite. That Raymond entered into an alliance with Saladin under the influence of the exasperation which he felt against king Guy and his party, must be admitted, as it is mentioned by the Mohammedan as well as by the Christian writers: but that he abandoned his faith, there is no evidence to show; and the Moslem writers, who would have regarded it as a triumph, are wholly silent on that point. On the contrary, they characterise him as the bitterest of their

enemies. He certainly made common cause with the Franks in the ensuing contest with Saladin : and this is said to have been brought about through the reasonings of a bishop and several priests who were sent to him by Lusignan. The sincerity of his adhesion was indeed distrusted by the Christians ; but it was believed by the Moslems ; and Saladin behaved with a degree of animosity against him, not compatible with the belief that a secret understanding still subsisted between them.

Count Raymond is so conspicuously mixed up in these transactions, as to render this explanation of his position necessary. The proximate cause of the new and terrible hostilities which arose between the Franks and Saracens, was, however, the infraction of the subsisting truce, by count Reginald of Chatillon. This prince, then lord of Kerak, had large possessions beyond the Jordan, extending down towards the frontiers of Arabia ; and from his proximity, as well as from his reckless character, which kept him almost continually in hostile contact with the Saracens, his name, in the shape of al-Bornas, Saheb of Kerak, occurs more frequently in the Arabian histories, than that of almost any other Christian leader of this

period. Reginald's hatred of the Moslems was peculiarly virulent, his love of the gains of war insatiate, and his valour indomitable. The rich caravan of pilgrims to Mecca passed by yearly, close to his territories; and the view of such valuable and easily-won spoil so awakened his cupidity that, regardless of the truce, he fell upon the caravan, and without difficulty made himself master of its treasures. Many of the pilgrims were barbarously put to the sword, and many more were marched off captives to the strong hold of Kerak, and detained there in irons.

This atrocious and perfidious act filled the Moslem world with such horror, as accounts for the savage ferocity with which the troops acted in the war which had now become inevitable. It is true that the king of Jerusalem and the Templars disavowed the act, and in their anxiety to redeem their honour from the stain of truce-breaking, offered to make satisfaction for all the damage which had been sustained; but Saladin being in a condition to renew the war, was not inclined to forego the advantage which this aggression offered. That aggression had not only put the Franks in the wrong, but had roused the mind of the Moslems

to an unusual pitch of frenzy and hatred against them : and Saladin had been too long a warrior not to know that the evil passions of men—their real animosity against those with whom they fight, form a great advantage, and a material element of success in war—that curse of the earth, the evil of which is not more evinced by the horrors it perpetrates and the ruin it occasions, than by the evil passions it engenders.

Ashtera, the Ashtaroth-karnaim of Scripture, in the land east of the Jordan, was appointed by Saladin for the rendezvous of the forces designed for the invasion of Palestine. At his bidding, hosts of well-appointed warriors assembled rapidly, not only from the Syrian provinces, but from Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Arabia.

This note of preparation roused the Franks, and made their leaders lay aside for the time the animosities which had burned between them, and unite for the common welfare. They formed a rendezvous and encampment at the fountain of Sepphoris. There was assembled the most stately host that had ever fought against the Saracens in the Holy Land. The Hospitalers and Templars came with many troops from

their various castles: count Raymond with his forces appeared from Tiberias and Tripoli; and Reginald of Chatillon—the cause of all this array—came with a train of gallant knights drawn from his fortresses of Kerak and Shobek. Other barons, with their knights and retainers, flocked in from Neapolis, Cæsarea, Sidon, and Antioch; and the king himself was present with a host of knights and hired troops. The number of the army thus collected has been variously estimated. Some make it not much under 50,000; and it certainly did comprise two thousand knights, and eight thousand foot soldiers, besides large bodies of light-armed troops, or archers. The "holy cross" itself was also brought from Jerusalem into the camp, in charge of the bishops of Ptolemais (Acre) and Lydda.

The Christian army remained encamped five weeks at the fountain of Sepphoris; when, at length, the hosts of Saladin burst in like a flood upon the land. They advanced by the northern end of the lake of Tiberias, and encamped on the heights north of the town of that name, expecting and hoping to be attacked there by the Franks. Finding that the latter manifested no disposition to leave their advantageous entrench-

ments, Saladin sent part of his force to take possession of Tiberias, which belonged to count Raymond, whose family was then in the place. The town was taken by storm, and the inhabitants were savagely treated, after which the place was set on fire. The wife of count Raymond withdrew with her children into the castle, which still held out against the Saracens.

The intelligence of this event reached the camp of the Christians upon the third of July ; and a council of war was immediately called by the king, to consider the course that should be taken. The first impulse of almost all the barons was to march at once to the relief of Tiberias, although it was well understood that a general action with the Saracens could not fail to be the result of this movement. Count Raymond, although of all others personally the most interested, gave very different advice. He showed that the wisest policy would be to avoid a battle, to fortify the camp, and await the attack of the sultan at Sepphoris. Here they had water and other resources in abundance, and might hope for success ; but if they abandoned this position, and marched towards Tiberias, they exposed themselves at once to the constant attacks of the Saracenic army, in

a region without water, under the fierce summer heat, where, exhausted and harassed on every side, their retreat might be easily cut off. This advice was so judicious, and rested on grounds so strong, that it was unanimously approved of by the king and barons, with the single exception of the rash and insolent Grand Master of the Templars, who adhered to the first unreasoning impulse.

The council did not break up till midnight; but the barons had scarcely lain down to rest, when the trumpets sounded, and the heralds proclaimed, throughout the camp, the orders of the king that all should immediately arm. After the council had broken up, the Grand Master of the Templars had gone to the king, and overwhelmed him with reproaches, for listening to what he called the traitorous advice of count Raymond. He failed not also to remind the king of the odium he had formerly incurred by declining to give the Moslems battle; and pointed out to him that it was only by some such daring act as was now open to him, that he could hope to redeem his character from the stain which excess of caution had already brought upon it. This argument was well suited to operate upon the weak mind of

Lusignan. The influence of the consideration which it presented, in an age when personal valour was deemed the supremest of all virtues, we can easily understand ; but it is lamentable that the lives and welfare of thousands should have been staked and lost on merely personal considerations, and to settle the miserable question whether such a person as Guy de Lusignan were a coward or not.

It was thus that the king was prevailed upon to nullify the resolution which the council of war had just before reached, and to give immediate orders to arm, without any further reference to the opinion of his barons. The chief of them hurried to his tent to warn him of the danger of the step he was taking ; but he was putting on his armour, and declined to give them an audience. They then sullenly followed his example : the army was drawn up and the march began towards Tiberias without delay.

This movement of the Christian army fell in entirely with the ardent wishes and the plans of Saladin ; who had from the first felt confident of victory, could he but draw the Franks from their position, and bring on a general battle. On receiving the intelligence from his

scouts, he immediately despatched his light troops to harass the Christians on their march; and posted his main army, it would seem, between Tiberias and the hill Hattin. This hill Hattin has long been regarded as that upon which our Lord sat, when he delivered the Sermon on the Mount, whence it is called the Mount of Beatitudes: and, if we admit for a moment this tradition, it becomes a most melancholy reflection, that one of the most bloody and savage battles that history records was fought in presence of that hill from which was once heard the Divine words—"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God." Matt. v. 5, 7, 9.

On the afternoon of the day on which it quitted Sepphoris, the Christian army reached the open ground around el-Lubieh, where the most violent onset of the day took place on the part of the light troops. But the Frank warriors were already so much exhausted by the heat of the day, coupled with tormenting thirst and want of water, as well as by the continued attacks of the enemy, that they were scarcely

able to bear up against the assaults. Fear and dismay spread through their ranks, and various omens of direful import were recognised. Instead of pressing on to attack at once the main army of Saladin, and at least break through to the lake of Tiberias, so as to obtain a supply of water, the feeble Guy gave orders to encamp on the high, rocky and waterless plain in sight of the enemy ; and thus defer the conflict till the following morning. To this measure the Christian writers ascribe all the disasters that followed ; and they also say that it was adopted at the instance of count Raymond, on whom, therefore, they shower all the blame.

The night was dreadful. The Christians, already tormented with thirst, stood in continual fear of a night attack. The Saracens approached close to their camp, and set fire to the dry shrubs and herbage round about; the heat and smoke of which served to increase still more the distress of the Franks. The latter passed the whole night under arms, anxiously waiting for the dawn. But the morning brought them no consolation : they saw themselves upon this rocky plain, surrounded by the hostile forces of Saladin ; from whom

there was no escape except in the results of a battle. The result of such an action could not be doubtful; for not only were the Franks greatly inferior in numbers to the Saracens; but on the one side was a feeble leader, distracted councils, and troops disheartened and exhausted; while on the other was the most renowned warrior of his age, with no will opposed to his own, and with troops fresh and vigorous, and burning with ardour to glut their fierce wrath upon the enemy.

We cannot enter into the details of the battle, of which we have not very perfect or consistent accounts. It seems, however, that the undoubted valour of the Franks kept the victory for a long time doubtful; that it even for a time inclined to the Christians; and that it was only by a tremendous effort which the Saracens eventually made, in the apprehension of being hemmed in between the enemy and the sea, that they won the victory—a victory most complete, and for them most glorious, if the glory of a victory be proportioned to the blood which is shed to obtain it. The carnage of the Christians was most horrible—not only in the battle, but in the pursuit of those that fled. So great was the terror, that if

Saladin's biographer, Bohaeddin, may be credited, one of the Moslem troopers took thirty of the Franks prisoners, and dragged them after him, tied together with the cord of his tent. One noble portion of the Christian host, led by the king in person, found means to retire to the top of the hill Hattin itself, and drove back the Saracens as they attempted to ascend. Three times did the latter storm the height; and it was not until they had set fire to the wood that they were able to get possession of it; and the Christians were then made prisoners or driven headlong over the steep precipice on the northern side. Among those who surrendered were Lusignan himself, the Grand Master of the Templars, Reginald of Chatillon, Humfrey de Toron, and the bishop of Lydda—the last bearer of the holy cross, the bishop of Ptolemais having been killed. The cross itself had already fallen into the hands of the enemy.

Saladin received his illustrious prisoners in a magnificent tent which he had caused to be pitched for the occasion. They were treated with no indignity by him, but were received rather with consideration and respect. They were all aware of the danger in which count

Reginald stood; for on him the eye of the sultan glared fiercely, and they remembered that he had sworn to strike off his head with his own hand whenever he fell into his power. Mindful of this, the king offered to Reginald the goblet of sherbet cooled with ice, which Saladin had caused to be presented to him. But the sultan said, "It is thou, not I, who offerest him drink"—alluding to the well-known Arab custom, that whoever offers food or drink to another, is bound to protect him. He then proceeded to revile Reginald for his atrocities and his broken faith; and declared that he had vowed to rid the earth of him, yet that he might still live if he chose to embrace the Moslem faith. On his peremptory rejection of this alternative, the sultan rose from his seat, and, with one stroke of his scimitar, smote the count's head from his shoulders. The terrified king and other captives expected to share his doom; but Saladin told them that Reginald had only received the punishment due to his atrocities, and that they had nothing to fear. They were accordingly transferred to Damascus, and ransomed in due course. But the knights of the Temple and Hospital—the sworn foes of Islam—met with no such mercy. They were

slaughtered remorselessly and in cold blood, to the number of two hundred.

Saladin was not slow to reap the fruits of the victory he had won, which, in a wonderfully short time, brought under his power most of the cities in Palestine. They had been weakened by their garrisons having been drawn off to the camp at Sepphoris; and the stately host which had there assembled, had perished or been made prisoners at Hattin. They were, therefore, not in a condition to make any vigorous defence, and they were, for the most part, panic-struck by the tremendous overthrow which the Christian cause had sustained. There were few principal towns, therefore, which did not submit to the sultan on the best terms they could obtain. The most noble exception was that of Ascalon. It made a most heroic resistance; but at length submitted, at the instance of Guy de Lusignan, whom Saladin led about with him in triumph. The principal condition made by the besieged was, that the king should be set at liberty. Saladin accepted this condition; but he would not consent to accomplish it till after the interval of a year, when Lusignan's freedom or bondage had become to all parties a matter of very small consequence. Tyre and Tripoli were the

only places of importance that remained with the Christians. Tyre had been besieged without success; and Saladin, fearing to be detained too long before that city, raised the siege, and marched to Jerusalem: and just three months after the battle of Tiberias, the green and yellow standard of the Saracens was unfurled beneath the walls of the holy city. Its walls then contained the fragments of the army of king Guy; here also were assembled the children of the warriors who had been slain, and here too, a large number of Christian families from the provinces had found refuge. It is stated that not fewer than a hundred thousand people were shut up within the circumscribed bounds of the city walls; but as few of them were capable of bearing arms, their numbers only augmented the trouble, and rendered the defence more difficult. It is, indeed, remarkable that this should have been the case in all the sieges Jerusalem had undergone. It always had a supernumerary population, beyond the ordinary inhabitants, whose presence embarrassed the actual warriors, and limited the resources of resistance.

The sultan summoned the inhabitants to deliver up to him the city; and promised them

his protection and assistance, with permission to settle on the most fertile lands in Syria. But finding his offers rejected with disdain, he vowed to overthrow the walls and towers of Jerusalem, and to take signal vengeance for the Moslem blood which had been shed like water when the city had been taken by the crusaders. The besieged, on their part, chose for their chief Baléan d'Ibelin, the lord of Ramla, a veteran warrior who had been in the battle of Hattin.

Saladin, after having encamped several days on the west of the town, found it advisable to direct his assaults towards the north, as had been done by all previous besiegers of Jerusalem. Two days were occupied in continual combats. The besieged, inspirited by the example of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, on whom lay the chief burden of the defence, manifested at first a great deal of courage, and offered a most vigorous resistance to all the assaults of the Saracens. But perceiving that all their efforts were really useless against the imposing force of the enemy, they became disheartened. The soldiers could no longer be prevailed upon to remain during the nights upon the walls, which seemed in momentary danger of yielding to the shock of

Saladin's machines; and at length, instead of taking to their arms, they fled to the churches to invoke the protection of God. It is said that the Greek and eastern Christians then in Jerusalem, had formed a plot for putting an end to this ruinous war by delivering up the city to the Saracens; on hearing of which the Franks hastened to obtain the best terms of capitulation in their power from Saladin. Baleán himself undertook this business, and was admitted to an interview with the sultan. Saladin was by no means disposed to repeat his former offer. On the contrary, he declared that, as the city was now in his power, he had no terms to offer; but would take the place by storm as the Franks had formerly done. On this Baléan drew himself up, and said in a firm tone: "If that is your determination, know, O sultan, that we who are exceedingly numerous, and have been restrained from fighting like men in despair only by the hopes of an honourable capitulation, have yet one remedy in our power. We will most certainly slay all our wives and children, and put to death the 5000 Moslem captives now in our hands; nor will we leave a single beast of burden, or any animal belonging to us, alive; we will commit all our

property to the flames; and will utterly level with the ground the temple of el-Aksa, and the rock which is so sacred in your eyes. This will we do; and then we will sally out upon you in a body, and doubt not that we shall either force you to abandon the siege, or cause a number of you much larger than our own to perish with us. Depend upon it, that we will conquer or die." This was not without its effect upon Saladin. He called a council of war; and found all the officers who attended disposed to consider that it would be far wiser to suffer the Franks to evacuate the place quietly, than drive them to the desperate extremities which Baléan had threatened; and the Moslem doctors declared that the sultan might concede a capitulation without violating the rash vow he had taken.

It was accordingly agreed that the warriors should be allowed to withdraw to Tyre and Tripoli; the other inhabitants were to be regarded as captives, but might purchase their liberty at a fixed rate of ten dinars for every man, five dinars for every woman, and two dinars for every young person under age. Christian authors assign different dates to this treaty; but the Arabic writers agree in

assigning it to Wednesday, the 27th of the month Rajeb, in the year 583 of the Hegira, answering to the 27th of October, 1187 A.D. A delay of forty days was conceded to the Christians to make their preparations for departure, and the Moslems were then to take possession of Jerusalem.

The day at length arrived when the Christians were to abandon to the Saracens those venerable walls, which they indeed loved, although they had in their hands been the scene of vices, crimes, and superstitions, most dishonouring to the name of Christ—and most injurious to his cause, by the most impure aspect in which they presented Christianity to the contemplation of unbelievers. On that day, all the gates of the city, except that of David, were thrown open, and Saladin, seated upon a throne, saw pass before him a people in desolation. First appeared the patriarch, followed by the clergy, bearing in their hands the sacred vessels, the ornaments of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and treasures of great value. Then came the queen of Jerusalem, attended by the chief barons and knights; and to her, as she passed, the conqueror addressed words of kindness and comfort. The queen was followed by a vast number of females

bearing their infants in their arms, and uttering the most distressing cries. Many of these, whose husbands and fathers the sultan held in captivity as prisoners of war, approached the throne of Saladin, and cried, "Behold at your feet the wives, the mothers, and the daughters of warriors whom you hold captive. We quit for ever the country which their valour defended. They are necessary to our support. In losing them we lose our last hope. Restore them to us, to soften the misery of our exile, and that we may not be without stay upon the earth." Saladin was touched. He promised to do what he could to soften their affliction; and he restored to the mothers the children, and to the wives the husbands whom he found among his captives. It had been conceded that every one of the inhabitants should take away so much of his property as he could himself carry; and now many of them left their most valuable effects behind them, and bore off instead, upon their shoulders, their parents, feeble with age, or their infirm and diseased friends. This spectacle attracted the attention of Saladin, who rewarded by his alms and gifts the virtues of his enemies. He even permitted the Hospitallers to remain in the city, to attend to those

persons whose maladies were too serious to permit their present removal.

Of about 100,000 Christians who had been shut up in Jerusalem, there remained in slavery not more than about 14,000, among which were 4,000 or 5,000 young children. Baléan, the commandant, employed the remainder of the treasure which had been destined for the expenses of the siege, to the amount of 30,000 dinars, to redeem a part of them; the sultan's brother, Malek Adhel, paid for the ransom of 2,000 of them out of his own purse; and the sultan himself dismissed freely a large number of orphans and poor people.

It may be asked, why, if Saladin were so generously disposed, he insisted upon the ransom money at all. The answer is, that he was obliged to raise the means of satisfying his troops, who had, by the capitulation, been baulked of the spoil which they had expected from the sultan's declared intention of taking the city by storm.

It is truly painful to point out the contrast between the generous conduct of the Moslem princes on this occasion, and the sanguinary barbarities committed by the warriors of the first crusade, when Jerusalem was taken by

them from the Moslems. Several writers have endeavoured if not to justify, at least to extenuate, the atrocities of Godfrey's warriors, by dwelling upon the fact that the Christians on this occasion offered to capitulate; whereas the Moslems sustained against the Crusaders a long and obstinate siege, and that the city was at last taken by storm. Those who know the difference, even under the ameliorated usages of modern warfare, between taking a city by storm and by capitulation, will be disposed to allow much weight to this consideration. But this difference of circumstances, great as it is, cannot in the least excuse the massacres in cold blood, continued by the Crusaders for a whole week after the city had been taken; the murders committed upon a people without arms—upon women and children, and upon Jews who had taken no part in the warfare. These things are altogether dreadful. They sicken the heart; and make one sigh for that blessed time when the dominion of the Prince of PEACE shall be established over all the nations of the earth; and when "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more," Isa. ii. 4.

When the Christians had left Jerusalem, the

sultan entered it in triumph. Unbounded was the joy of the Moslems at having recovered possession of the holy city, which they signalised by all imaginable tokens of gratitude. Their great solicitude was to purify the mosque from Christian pollutions, and to restore everything, so far as possible, to its former condition. Once more the sonorous call of the muezzin was heard from the high places of the city; the Koran was restored to the pulpits; and the mosque resounded with the shouts of victory and the Moslem confession of faith. The stone altar which the crusaders had placed in the mosque of Omar was removed with abhorrence; and, with great concern, it was discovered that the sacred rock had been partly levelled to afford a basis for the superstructure. The walls and pavements were purified with rose water from Damascus; the golden cross with which the crusaders had crowned the dome was torn down with contumely, and the crescent reinstated there, amidst the exulting shouts of the Saracens, and the lamenting cries of such Christians as beheld that doleful sight.

Such was the end of the kingdom of Jerusalem, established by Godfrey of Bouillon, after it had existed for the space of eighty-nine years.

The reader will like to know how the Jews were treated by the Crusaders, and what was their condition in their own land, during this period of Christian domination. Our information on this subject is very imperfect; but the few facts which can be gleaned are painful and significant. It appears, then, that the Crusaders dealt most hardly with the Jews throughout the Christian territory. Whole communities of them were massacred without mercy. In Palestine, the bitter hatred of the Christians against this unhappy people raged with such fury, that those who could escape the sword fled for refuge into the Moslem states, particularly into Syria and Egypt; and the seat of the Palestine academy, or college, so famous in the history of rabbinical learning, was transferred from Tiberias to Damascus, where the principal doctors still, however, bore the title of chiefs of the college of the land of Israel.

When the first fury of the Crusaders against the Israelites seemed to have subsided, many of the outcast race ventured to settle themselves anew in the towns of Palestine, where they were permitted to exercise certain trades, especially that of dyeing. The Jewish pilgrims,

impelled by an irresistible desire to tread the sacred soil of their fathers' land, braved a thousand dangers that they might pour forth their tears at, or near, the place of that holy and beautiful house in which their fathers had worshipped God. One of the most celebrated of the learned Spanish Jews, of which that age produced many, was the Rabbi Judah Hallevi, who made a journey to Palestine in the year 1140, when Fulk of Anjou reigned in Jerusalem. He composed an elegiac poem in Hebrew, which remains to this day, and is regarded as the expression of the sentiments of despair and grief which were inspired by his visit to the holy land, and which were generally entertained by the Jews of that period; as well as of the ardent desire—the more ardent from obstruction—which was felt to visit the sacred land, and find in it a sepulchre. The following translation will serve to exhibit the sentiments embodied in this remarkable composition.

"Hast thou forgotten, O Zion, thy captive children? Art thou regardless of the blessings which the remnant of thy flock send to thee from the uttermost parts of the earth? From the east, from the west, from the north, and from the south, the bondman directs towards

thee the looks of hope, and sends to thee the tribute of his tears. They fall like the dews of Hermon ; but, alas! they may not water thy forsaken hills. When I mourn thy desolation, there is the doleful cry of the jackal ; but when I dream of the return from captivity, there are the accents of the harp which once accompanied thy sacred songs. My soul is transported into the house of God ; and lies there naked before its Creator. Was it not here that the gates of heaven were opened ?—here that the majesty of Jehovah eclipsed the sun, the moon, and the stars ? Oh that I were able to pour forth my spirit there, where the Spirit of God descended upon his elect! Thou wert the abode of the eternal King ; and I behold slaves seated upon the throne of thy princes.

" Why, O my soul, mayest thou not pour thyself out upon these places where the Almighty revealed himself to his prophets ? Give me wings, and I will bear unto thy ruins the fragments of my broken heart. I will embrace thy mute stones, and my brow shall touch thy sacred dust. My feet shall bear me to the tombs of my forefathers :—I contemplate at Hebron the holy sepulchre.* I contemplate

* That is, the cave of Machpelah, the burial place of the patriarchs.

Mount Abarim and Mount Hor, which hold the dust of thy divine masters, the two lights of Israel. In thine air I shall respire the breath of life; in thy dust, the perfume of myrrh; in the waters of thy streams, I shall taste honey. It would be blessed to me to walk barefoot over the ruins of thy sanctuary, to the place where the earth opened and received into its bosom the ark of the covenant and its cherubim.* I could rend from my head this vain attire, and curse the fate which has cast thy worshippers away upon a strange land. Oh, how can I give myself up to the joys of life, while I behold dogs dragging thy young lions triumphantly along? Mine eyes shun the light of day, which compels me to behold crows rising into the air with the dead bodies of thine eagles. . . . . Rest, O thou cup of affliction, and let me have a single moment of repose; for my veins are already filled with thy bitternesses—only one moment, that I may think upon Aholah (Samaria), and then I will finish thy bitter draught; let me have one short remembrance of Aholibamah (Jerusalem), and then I will drain it to the dregs.

* The allusion is here to a Jewish tradition that the ark was hidden by the prophet Jeremiah in a cavern of Mount Nebo, but that the place could never after be discovered.

"Zion, crowned with beauty, recall the tender love of thine own, whom thy prosperity once filled with gladness, and whom thy reverses bow down with grief. From their uttermost exile they open up to thee their forlorn hearts, and bow themselves towards thy gates. Thy flocks, scattered upon the mountains, have not forgotten their happy fold; they are still attracted towards thy heights, and long to rest once more under the shadow of thy palms. Sinear and Pathros, in their vaunted greatness, can they compare with thee? What were their lying oracles compared with thy Urim and Thummim? Where are the mortal men comparable to thy princes, thy prophets, thy Levites, thy sacred choristers? All their empires shall return to nothingness, and thou—thou only—shalt endure to everlasting; for the Lord shall yet fix his eternal abode in thee. Oh, happy he who shall then dwell under the shadow of thy walls!—happy he who shall behold that new morning break!—for he will see the blessedness of thine elect—he will join in thy high festivals—and thou shalt yet be beautiful, as in the days of thy youth."

The rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Palestine in the reign of Amaury, found a

considerable number of Jews in the chief towns of the holy land. At Jerusalem there were two hundred who exercised the trade of dyers. Dyeing was a kind of monopoly which the government had abandoned to the Jews in consideration of a sum of money which they paid every year. They had, at the same time, permission to go and pour forth their tears uninsulted in front of the western wall of the mosque of Omar, where, as we have already intimated, there are traces of the ancient walls of the Jewish temple. But it appears that a sojourn in the holy city was interdicted to all other Jews; and that the pilgrims who ventured thither were exposed to very great danger. The celebrated Moses ben Maimon, better known as Maimonides, being constrained, by the fanaticism of the Moorish khalif Almohades, to quit Spain, his native country, and where he was the chief glory of the synagogue, proceeded to the holy land, and reached Acre in May, 1165, during the same reign—that of Amaury—and encountered great perils in his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The largest community of Jews found in Palestine by rabbi Benjamin was at Tyre. That city contained four hundred Jews, among whom were many

learned Talmudists, and several owners of ships. For the rest, the legislation of the Christians in Palestine put the Jews on much the same footing as Saracens and idolaters. They had no civil rights; but they were nevertheless made to contribute in a very full measure towards the expenses of the state.

It appears that the Jews who abode in Jerusalem in the time of rabbi Benjamin were afterwards expelled. In 1180, the traveller Pethachia of Ratisbon, could not find a single Jew in Jerusalem; and the Spanish Jewish poet Judah al-Harizi, who was at Jerusalem in 1217, states distinctly that the gates of the holy city had only been open to the Israelites since it had been taken by Saladin. The protection which that conqueror acceded to the Jews, drew thither a great number of them from different countries, who formed several separate communities, not always remarkable for the good understanding that subsisted between them. Persecuted as the Jews were by the Christians throughout Europe, and expelled from Spain by the tyranny of the Moorish princes, they nowhere found safety but in the countries subject to the sceptre of Saladin. Most of the Jews of learning and science, in

which that age abounded, therefore resorted thither; and ere long many of them, especially the physicians, are seen to have been held in high estimation, and to have occupied a distinguished rank even at the court of Saladin. This explains the fact that, in the Arabian histories and tales of this period, the presence of Jewish physicians is frequently indicated.

Thus the Jews had no cause to regret the destruction of the Christian realm of Jerusalem; but it might be, and was, hailed by them as a most happy and promising event.

From that time to the present day, Jerusalem has remained, with slight interruption, in the hands of the Moslems.

On the threatened siege of the city by Richard of England, in 1192, Saladin repaired in person to Jerusalem to superintend and hasten the preparations for defence. New walls and bulwarks were erected, and deep trenches cut; so that in six months the town was stronger than it ever had been, and the works had the firmness and solidity of a rock. These preparations were, however, needless, as the Christian army received a decisive check on its entrance into the hill country of Judæa.

In the year 1219, the sultan of Damascus,

Kamel Abd-el-Maali Moaddin, gave orders that all the walls and towers of Jerusalem should be demolished, excepting those of the citadel and the inclosure of the great mosque. This was done in fear that the Franks, who had already possessed themselves of Diametta in Egypt, should again take the city, and find in it a place of strength. Two years after, the brother sultans of Egypt and Damascus offered to cede Jerusalem and some other towns to the Franks, on condition of their evacuating Diametta. This proposal was declined, unless accompanied by a heavy sum in compensation for the destruction of the fortifications; but very soon after the Franks were constrained to surrender the Egyptian city without any conditions or equivalents.

Jerusalem remained in a defenceless state till it was delivered over to the Christians in 1229, under a treaty with the emperor Frederic II., with the stipulation that the fortifications were not to be restored. Yet ten years later, the barons and knights of Jerusalem began to rebuild the walls, and to erect a strong fortress on the west side of the city. But the works were interrupted by the emir David, of Kerak, who seized the city, strangled

the Christian inhabitants, and cast down the newly-erected walls and fortress. Four years after, however—being in 1243—it was restored to the Franks without any restriction, and they proceeded to rebuild the walls, and even to occupy the mosques. The impotence which had been constrained to submit to this was, however, relieved in the following year, by the arrival of the wild Kharismian hordes, whom the sultan of Egypt had invited to his assistance. Their advance alarmed the small garrison, which, deeming the defence hopeless, abandoned the walls to the invaders; and since then no Christians have held even temporary power in Jerusalem.

From this date, Jerusalem appears to have sunk very much in political and military importance. It is scarcely named in the histories of the Memlook sultans who ruled over Egypt and the greater part of Syria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. At length, it passed, with the whole of Syria, under the sway of the Turkish sultan, Selim I., who visited the holy city in person, both before and after his conquest of Egypt. This was in 1519. Since then, Jerusalem has formed a part of the Ottoman empire, and during this long period has

been subject to few vicissitudes, and its history is barren of incident. The present walls were erected in 1542, by order of Suleiman the Magnificent, the successor of Selim—a fact which is still attested by an inscription over the Jaffa gate. So lately as 1808, a fire broke out in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, by which that structure and the buildings connected with it were destroyed. The whole was, however, rebuilt the next year, at an immense expense, borne chiefly by the Greeks. The restorations were so exactly after the model of the former building, that one who had seen the place before would, on revisiting it after, scarcely suspect the intervening destruction and restoration.

As Jerusalem was, under the Turkish distribution of the Syrian governments, dependent on the pashalic of Damascus, it was not disturbed by the events which signalized the last years of the eighteenth century in Palestine, and which, therefore, claim no record in this sketch of the history of the holy city. It was the pashalic of Acre which was the scene of the exploits and atrocities of Ali Bey, of Sheikh Daher, and afterwards of Djezzar Pasha, and the French invaders; and which witnessed the

heroic deeds of sir Sidney Smith. Under the pasha of Damascus, Jerusalem was governed by a mutsellim (a sort of lieutenant-governor), who paid to his superior a yearly rent or tribute, the funds for which he derived from the miri (land-tax), the customs, and from the reciprocal jealousies of the Christians, who were constantly out-bribing each other with him for the possession of the holy places; the mutsellim was usually independent in his government, and might do what evil he pleased, with little danger of being questioned by his superior, so long as the stipulated revenue was duly remitted to Damascus.

In the year 1832, Jerusalem shared the lot of Syria in passing into the possession of Mehemet Ali, pasha of Egypt, the holy city opening its gates to his son Ibrahim without a siege. There was a great insurrection of the peasantry of the Nabulus and Jerusalem districts in 1834, and the insurgents seized the city, and held possession of it for some weeks. Eventually the powers of Europe interfered to restore Syria to the dominion of the Porte; and after the bombardment of Acre, in November, 1840, Jerusalem accordingly returned to the possession of the Turks, who have since administered

the government with greater mildness, and with less disregard of European influence, than they formerly manifested. A city which had long been overlooked in the policy of nations, has lately become of importance in the eyes of the greatest states in the world. The "five great powers" of Europe have established consuls at Jerusalem; and two of them, England and Prussia, have joined to establish a Protestant bishoprick there. In due season we shall learn what these things mean.

CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIPTION OF MODERN JERUSALEM.

The general view of the city from the Mount of Olives is mentioned more or less by all travellers as that from which they derive their most distinct and abiding impressions of Jerusalem.

The summit of the Mount of Olives is about half a mile east from the city, which it completely overlooks; every considerable edifice and almost every house being distinctly visible. The city seen from this point appears to be a regular inclined plane, sloping gently and uniformly from west to east, or towards the observer, and indented by a slight depression or shallow vale, running nearly through the centre, in the same direction. The south-east corner of the quadrangle—for that may be assumed as the figure formed by the rocks—that which is nearest the observer, is occupied by the mosque of Omar and its extensive and beautiful grounds.

This, as we have seen, is Mount Moriah, the site of Solomon's temple; and the ground embraced in the sacred inclosure, which conforms to that of the ancient temple, occupies about an eighth of the whole modern city. It is covered with green sward, and planted sparingly with olive, cypress, and other trees; and it is certainly the most handsome feature of the town, whether we have reference to the splendid structures, or to the beautiful lawn spread around them.

The south-west quarter, embracing that part of Mount Zion which is within the modern town, is, to a great extent, occupied by the Armenian convent, an enormous edifice, which is the only conspicuous object in this neighbourhood. The north-west is largely occupied by the Latin convent, another very extensive establishment. About midway between these two convents is the castle, or citadel, close to the Bethlehem gate. The north-east quarter of Jerusalem is but partially built upon; and it has more the aspect of a rambling agricultural village than that of a crowded city. The vacant spots here are green, with gardens and olive-trees. There is another large vacant tract along the southern wall, and west of the Haram,

also covered with verdure. Near the centre of the city, also, appear two or three green spots, which are small gardens. The church of the Holy Sepulchre is the only conspicuous edifice in this vicinity, and its domes are striking objects. There are no other buildings which, either from their size or beauty, are likely to engage the attention. Eight or ten minarets mark the position of so many mosques in different parts of the town, but they are only noticed because of their elevation above the surrounding edifices. Upon the same principle, the eye rests for a moment upon a great number of low domes, which form the roofs of the principal dwellings, and relieve the heavy uniformity of the flat plastered roofs which cover the greater mass of more humble habitations. Many ruinous piles and a thousand disgusting objects are concealed, or disguised, by the distance. Many inequalities of surface, which exist to so great an extent that there is not a level street of any length in Jerusalem, are also unperceived.

From the same commanding point of view, a few olive and fig-trees are seen in the lower part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, and scattered over the side of Olivet from its base to the

summit. They are sprinkled yet more sparingly on the southern side of the city on Mount Zion and Ophel. North of Jerusalem the olive plantations appear more numerous as well as thriving, and thus offer a grateful contrast to the sun-burnt fields and bare rocks which predominate in this landscape. The region west of the city appears to be destitute of trees. Fields of stunted wheat are also seen on all sides of the town.

Jerusalem, as viewed from the Mount of Olives, is a plain, inclining gently and equally to the east. Once enter its gates, however, and it is found to be full of inequalities which nature or time has produced. Houses are built upon mountains of rubbish, which are probably twenty, thirty, or fifty feet above the natural level; and the streets are constructed with the same disregard to convenience, with this difference, that some slight attention is paid to the possibility of carrying off surplus water.

The latter are, without exception, narrow, seldom exceeding eight or ten feet in breadth. The houses often meet, and in some instances, a building occupies both sides of the street, which runs under a succession of arches barely high enough to permit an equestrian to pass

under them. A canopy of old mats, or of planks, is suspended over the principal streets when not arched. This custom had its origin, no doubt, in the heat of the climate, which is very intense in summer; but it gives a gloomy aspect to all the most thronged and lively parts of the city. These covered ways are often pervaded by currents of air when a perfect calm prevails in other places. The principal streets of Jerusalem run nearly at right angles to each other. Very few, if any of them, bear names among the native population. They are badly paved, being merely laid irregularly, with raised stones, with a deep square channel, for beasts of burden, in the middle; but the steepness of the ground contributes to keep them cleaner than in most oriental cities.

The houses of Jerusalem are substantially built of the limestone of which the whole of this part of Palestine is composed; not usually hewn, but broken into regular forms, and making a solid wall of very respectable appearance. For the most part there are no windows next to the street, and the few which exist for the purposes of light or ventilation, are completely masked by casements and lattice-work. The apartments receive their light from the

open courts within. The ground plot is usually surrounded by a high inclosure, commonly forming the walls of the house only, but sometimes embracing a small garden, and some vacant ground. The rain-water which falls upon the pavement is carefully conducted, by means of gutters, into cisterns, where it is preserved for domestic uses, as will be more fully described when we come to notice the waters of Jerusalem.

Stone is employed in building, for all the purposes to which it can possibly be applied, and Jerusalem is hardly more exposed to accidents by fire than a quarry, or subterranean cavern. The floors, stairs, etc., are of stone, and the ceiling is usually formed by a coat of plaster laid upon the stones, which at the same time form the roof and the vaulted top of the room. Doors, sashes, and a few other appurtenances are all that can usually be afforded of a material so expensive as wood. The little timber which is used is mostly brought from Mount Lebanon, as in the time of Solomon. A rough, crooked stick of the fig-tree, or some gnarled, twisted planks made of the olive—the growth of Palestine—are occasionally seen. A large number of houses in Jerusalem are in a

dilapidated and ruinous state. Nobody seems to make repairs so long as his dwelling does not absolutely refuse him shelter and safety. If one room tumble about his ears, he removes into another, and permits rubbish and vermin to accumulate as they will in the deserted halls. Tottering staircases are propped to prevent their fall ; and when the edifice becomes untenable, the occupant seeks another a little less ruinous, leaving the wreck to a smaller or more wretched family, or, more probably, to a goat-herd and his flock. Habitations which have a very respectable appearance as seen from the street, are often found, upon entering them, to be little better than heaps of ruins.

Nothing of this would be suspected from the general appearance of the city as seen from the various commanding points without the walls, nor from anything that meets the eye in the streets. Few towns in the east offer a more imposing spectacle to the view of the approaching stranger. He is struck with the height and massiveness of the walls, which are kept in perfect repair, and naturally produce a favourable opinion of the health and comfort which they are designed to protect. Upon entering the gates, he is apt, after all that has been

published about the solitude that reigns in the streets, to be surprised at meeting large numbers of people in the chief thoroughfares, almost without exception decently clad. A longer and more intimate acquaintance with Jerusalem, however, does not fail to correct this too favourable impression, and demonstrate the existence and general prevalence of the poverty and even wretchedness which must result in every country from oppression, from the absence of trade, and from the utter stagnation of all branches of industry. Considerable activity is displayed in the bazaars, which are supplied scantily —like those of other eastern towns—with provisions, tobacco, coarse cottons, and other articles of prime necessity. Much business is still done in beads, crosses, and other sacred trinkets, which are purchased to a vast amount by the pilgrims who annually throng the holy city. The support, and even the existence, of the considerable population of Jerusalem depend upon this transient patronage—a circumstance to which a great part of the prevailing poverty and degradation is justly ascribed. The worthless articles employed in this pitiful trade are, almost without exception, brought from other places, especially Hebron and Bethlehem—

the former celebrated for its baubles of glass, the latter chiefly for rosaries, crucifixes, and other toys made of mother-of-pearl, olive-wood, black stones from the Dead Sea, etc. These are eagerly bought up by the ignorant pilgrims, sprinkled with holy water by the priests, or consecrated by some other religious mummery, and carried off in triumph and worn as ornaments to charm away disease and misfortune, and probably to be buried with the deluded enthusiast in his coffin, as a sure passport to eternal blessedness. With the exception of some establishments for soap-making, a tannery, and a very few weavers of coarse cottons, there do not appear to be any manufactures properly belonging to the place. Agriculture is almost equally wretched, and can only give employment to a few hundred people. The masses really seem to be without any regular employment. A considerable number, especially of the Jews, professedly live on charity. Many Christian pilgrims annually find their way hither on similar resources, and the approaches to the holy places are thronged with beggars, who, in piteous tones, demand alms in the name of Christ and the blessed virgin. The

general condition of the population is that of abject poverty. A few Turkish officials, ecclesiastical, civil, and military; some remains of the old Mohammedan aristocracy—once powerful and rich, but now much impoverished and nearly extinct; together with a few tradesmen in easy circumstances, form almost the only exceptions to the prevailing indigence. There is not a single broker among the whole population, and not the smallest sum can be obtained on the best bills of exchange short of Jaffa, or Beirout.

The number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem has been variously estimated by different travellers, some making it as high as 30,000, and others as low as 12,000. Without attempting to reconcile these different accounts, we shall be content to lay before the reader that which we believe to be the best and most authoritative, as it is certainly the most recent statement on the subject. It is that furnished by Dr. Schultz, the Prussian consul at Jerusalem, who, during several years' residence in that city, has made everything connected with its ancient condition and present state, a subject of anxious study, and careful investigation. In

his recent work on Jerusalem, (Berlin, 1845,) he gives the following enumeration of the population:—

I. Mohammedans		5,000
II. Christians—		
a. Greeks	2,000	
b. Roman Catholics	900	
c. Armenians	350	
d. Copts	100	
e. Syrians	20	
f. Abyssinians	20	
	——	3,390
III. Jews—		
a. Turkish subjects (*Sephardim*)	6,000	
b. Foreign (*Ashkenazim*) namely, Polish, Russian, German	1,100	
c. Karaites	20	
	——	7,120
		15,510

If to this we add seventy or eighty Protestants connected with the religious missions and consulates; fifteen or twenty persons connected with Roman Catholic consulates; and the Turkish garrison of 800 or 1,000 men, we have about

17,000 for the maximum of the ordinary population. A very great temporary increase of the population occurs, however, every year, from the concourse of pilgrims to the holy city, at Easter. The highest number of such pilgrims in modern times is stated to have been 10,000 ; in 1843, there were not more than half that number; and in 1844 only 3,000. This last number, however, consisting almost entirely of men, is still large enough to make a sensible temporary impression upon a city whose standing population is so inconsiderable. And indeed that impression is not altogether temporary, as a considerable portion of the inhabitants appear to live through the year upon the gains they make during the stay of the pilgrims. Let it also be observed that these pilgrims being chiefly Christians, their number, taken at the lowest amount, is equal nearly to that of the resident Christians, and about four times as many as the adult male Christian residents, for they, of course, cannot well form more than one-fourth of the whole Christian population.

Of the resident population, it will be seen that the Jews form not greatly less than one-half—a result which will surprise many readers,

and for which, we must confess, that we were not altogether prepared. Next to them are the Moslems; and last, the Christians, who are not half so numerous as the Jews, and furnish scarcely more than one-fifth of the entire population. On the other hand, we see that although we are much in the habit of regarding Jerusalem as a Moslem city, the Moslems do not actually constitute more than one-third of the entire population. To all these classes, Jews, Christians, and Moslems, Jerusalem is holy; and is the only city in the world which people of such different origin, races, language, and religions, agree to regard with nearly equal veneration.

The language most generally spoken among them is the Arabic. Schools are rare, and consequently facility in reading is not often met with. The general condition of the inhabitants has already been indicated. The Turkish governor of the town holds the rank of pasha, but is responsible to the pasha of Beirout. The government is somewhat milder than before the period of the Egyptian dominion; but it is said that the Jewish and Christian inhabitants at least, have ample cause to regret the change of masters, and the American

missionaries lament that change without reserve. Yet the Moslems reverence the same spots which the Jews and Christians account holy, the holy sepulchre only excepted; and this exception arises from the disbelief that Christ was crucified, or buried, or rose again. Formerly there were in Palestine monks of the Benedictine and Augustine orders, and of those of St. Basil and St. Anthony; but since 1304, there have been none but Franciscans, who have charge of the Latin convent and the holy places. They resided on Mount Zion, till A.D. 1561, when the Turks allowed them the monastery of St. Salvador, which they now occupy. They had formerly a handsome revenue out of all Roman Catholic countries, but these sources have fallen off since the French revolution, and the establishment is said to be poor and deeply in debt. The expenses arise from the duty imposed upon the convent of entertaining pilgrims; and the cost of maintaining the twenty convents belonging to the establishment of the Terra Santa is estimated at 40,000 Spanish dollars (or £8,500) a year. Formerly it was much higher, in consequence of the heavy exactions of the Turkish government. Burckhardt says, that the brotherhood

paid annually £12,000 to the pasha of Damascus. But the Egyptian government relieved them of these heavy charges, and imposed, instead, a regular tax on the property possessed. For the buildings and lands in and around Jerusalem, the annual tax was fixed at 7,000 piastres, or 350 Spanish dollars. It is probable that the restored Turkish government has not yet, in this respect, recurred to its old oppression. The convent contains fifty monks, half Italians and half Spaniards. In it resides the Intendant, or Principal of all the convents, with the rank of abbot, and the title of Guardian of Mount Zion and Custos of the Holy Land. He is always an Italian, and has charge of all the spiritual affairs of the Roman Catholics in Palestine. There is also a president, or vicar, who takes the place of the guardian in case of absence or death; he was formerly a Frenchman, but is now either an Italian or Spaniard. The procurator, who manages their temporal affairs, is always a Spaniard. A council, called Discretorium, composed of these officials and three other monks, has the general management of both spiritual and temporal matters. Much of the attention of the order is occupied, and much of its expense incurred,

in entertaining pilgrims and in the distribution of alms. The native Roman Catholics live around the convent, on which they are wholly dependent. They are native Arabs, and are said to be descended from converts in the time of the crusades.

There is a Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, but he usually resides at Constantinople, and is represented in the holy city by one or more vicars, who are bishops residing in the great convent near the church of the Holy Sepulchre. At present, the vicars are the bishops of Lydda, Nazareth, and Kerak, (Petra,) assisted by the other bishops resident in the convent. In addition to thirteen monasteries in Jerusalem, they possess the convent of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem, that of St. Helena, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and that of St. John, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. All the monks of the convents are foreigners. The Christians of the Greek rite who are not monks, are all native Arabs, with their native priests, who are allowed to perform the church services in their mother tongue—the Arabic.

The Armenians in Jerusalem have a patriarch, with three convents, and a hundred monks. They have also convents at Bethlehem,

Ramleh, and Jaffa. Few of the Armenians are natives; they are mostly merchants, and among the wealthiest inhabitants of the place, and their convent is deemed the richest in the Levant. Their church of St. James upon Mount Zion, is very showy in its decorations, but void of taste. The Coptic Christians at Jerusalem are only some monks residing in the convent of es-Sultan, on the north side of the pool of Hezekiah. There is also a convent of Abyssinians, and one belonging to the Jacobite Syrians.

The Jews inhabit a distinct quarter of the town between Mount Zion and Mount Moriah. This is the worst and dirtiest part of the holy city, and that in which the plague never fails to make its first appearance. Few of the Jerusalem Jews are natives; and most of them come from foreign parts to die in the city of their fathers' sepulchres. The greater proportion of them are from different parts of the Levant, and appear to be mostly of Spanish and Polish origin. Few are from Germany, or understand the German language. They are, for the most part, wretchedly poor, and depend, in a great degree, for their subsistence upon the contributions of their brethren in different

countries. These contributions have of late years been smaller than usual; and, when they arrive, are the occasion of much heartburning and strife. They are always quarrelling, and frequently apply to the consul to settle their disputes.

The expectation of support from the annual European contributions leads many of them to live in idleness. Hence there are in Jerusalem five hundred acknowledged paupers, and five hundred more who receive charity in a quiet way. Many are so poor that, if not relieved, they would not stand out the winter season. A few are shopkeepers, and a few more bankers, and a very few are operatives. None of them are agriculturists—not a single Jew cultivates the soil of his fathers.

Having brought the history of Jerusalem down to the present time, and taken a general and rapid survey of its present state, we shall in the following chapters furnish some details on particular subjects, which could not before be introduced without too much interrupting the current of the history and description.

CHAPTER V.

WATERS OF JERUSALEM.

The waters of Jerusalem offer a subject of considerable interest; and we have judged it best to bring together in this place, the substance of our information respecting the pools and fountains of the holy city.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that although Jerusalem is situated in a region singularly destitute of springs and running streams, a scarcity of water in the city is never mentioned in all the numerous accounts which the sacred books contain of the sufferings and desolations produced in the country by droughts. So, in his account of the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey, Strabo incidentally mentions that the inhabitants were well supplied with water, while none could be found in the environs. In the accounts of most of the sieges of Jerusalem, we find the besiegers distressed for want of water, and as being obliged to fetch it from a great distance; but in every such case, there

is either no mention that the besieged were exposed to similar sufferings, or a distinct assurance that they were not. A singular case this, in which the besieged were famishing with hunger, but lacked no water, while at the same time the besiegers had usually plenty of food, but were perishing from thirst. The vivid picture which Tasso in the Jerusalem Delivered, has drawn of the sufferings sustained by the crusaders under the walls of Jerusalem, bears forcibly on this subject. We quote the lines from the noble translation of Fairfax:—

The leaves grew wan upon the withered sprays,
  The grass and growing herb all parched were;
Earth cleft in rifts, in floods each stream decays;
  And barren clouds with lightning bright appear.
  Still was the air; the rack nor came nor went,
But o'er the land, with lukewarm breathing, flies
  The southern wind, from sunburnt Afric sent,
Which, thick and warm, his interrupted blast
Upon their bosoms, throats, and faces cast.

Nor yet more comfort brought the gloomy night:
  In her thick shades was burning heat uproll'd,
Her sable mantle was embroidered bright
  With blazing stars, and gliding fires of gold;
Not to refresh (sad earth) thy thirsty sprite,
  The niggard moon let fall her may-dews cold.
And dried up the vital moisture was
In trees, in plants, in herbs, in flowers, and grass.

And little Siloe, that his store bestows
  Of purest crystal in the Christian bands,
The pebbles naked in his channel shows,
  And scantly glides above the scorched sands.

He that the gliding rivers erst had seen
Adown their verdant channels gently roll'd,
Or falling streams that to the valleys green,
Distill'd from tops of Alpine mountains cold.
These he desired in vain, new torments been
Augmented thus with wish of comforts old;
There waters cool he drank in vain conceit,
Which more increased his thirst, increased his heat.

The sturdy bodies of the warriors strong,
Whom neither marching far, nor tedious way,
Nor weighty arms, which on their shoulders hong,
Could weary make, nor death itself dismay,
Now weak and feeble cast their limbs along,
Unwieldy burdens on the burned clay;
And in each vein a smould'ring fire there dwelt,
Which dried their flesh, and solid bones did melt.

The effects of the excessive drought upon the horses and dogs of the besiegers, are described with equal vigour. The whole is based upon the details given in the history by William of Tyre; who also states, that although the pool of Siloam was without the walls, it was inconveniently near to the town; and that it only occasionally yielded a small quantity of water, which was far from good or pleasant. We learn from him also, that the drought was not the result of an extraordinary dry season, but arose from the singular scarcity of streams and fountains in the neighbourhood; as well as from the fact that all the cisterns which might have been useful to them had been carefully covered up and concealed by the inhabitants

for the very purpose of distressing the Christian host. This was an ancient resource of the inhabitants of Jerusalem against an enemy; being no other than the contrivance to which Hezekiah resorted on the approach of the Assyrian army, 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4. This alone shows, that anciently, as at present, the inhabitants depended, almost entirely, upon the rain water, which they preserved in cisterns; and their cisterns might be well stored with water from the rains of the preceding winter, while the open country was consumed with drought. The city had a great advantage in this immunity against one of the most distressing casualties of war; for a city which is supplied with water from external sources, is liable to have that supply cut off by the besiegers; and at least the besiegers are as well off for water as the besieged.

The statement as to the scarcity of springs, is true, not only of Jerusalem, but of the whole mountain region in which it stands. Dr. Olin declares, that he does not remember having seen a single stream of water in the whole distance from Jerusalem to Hebron and the borders of Edom. The inhabitants of the villages and open country are dependent, and

must always have been so, upon wells and cisterns. From these they obtained water for drinking and domestic purposes. They are still found excavated in the rock, or constructed of solid masonry along the ancient roads, and near the ruined sites of towns and villages, which are so often met with in every part of the country. Cisterns are much more numerous than wells, which generally had to be sunk to a great depth, and the water of which is said to be generally inferior to the rain water preserved in the cistern. Great pains were formerly taken to preserve the rain water in a pure state, as is evident from the expensive construction of the cisterns, which were not only built with solidity, and lined with cement, but, in many instances, covered with immense arches of masonry, so as to secure them against dust and filth, and to exclude the rays of the sun. There are commonly flights of stone steps extending from the top quite to the bottom of these reservoirs, which give easy access to the water in all its stages; this, in the rainy season, flows from the hills and inclined plains that compose the whole of this region, to the lower ground, which is always chosen for the cisterns. The number and magnitude of these receptacles afford good

data for estimating the size and importance of ancient places, of which they are, in many instances, almost the only remaining memorials; and they are calculated to give us very favourable ideas of the industry and skill of the ancient Jews. No such works are achieved by the present inhabitants of the country, whose resources seem unequal to the task of even keeping in repair those which have been bequeathed to them by a better race of men and a happier era.

This will serve to explain the mode in which supplies of water were anciently, and are now, secured in the city itself. There is probably little difference, except that the system must have been more extensive in ancient times. Indeed, the public and private reservoirs of the present day, are without doubt the same which were anciently in use. The devastations which have repeatedly swept the surface of the ground, for the most part spared these subterranean constructions. This fact places them among the most interesting antiquities of Jerusalem.

We shall first say a few words more of the private cisterns as actually existing in the city, and then give our attention to the different

pools and fountains which can, for the most part, be identified with those mentioned in the sacred Scriptures. The public fountains, taken together, furnish a large body of water for ordinary as well as for special uses. In ordinary purposes, however, they are used only by those of the poorest class, whose humble habitations are unprovided with cisterns. Every house good enough to be inhabited by persons above the condition of absolute indigence, is provided with one or more of these cisterns. They are constructed under the houses, or in the courts and gardens belonging to them, of stones laid in cement, or, where the natural rock rises near enough to the surface, by excavation in the solid mass. The water is conducted into them not only from the roofs of the houses, but from the paved courts which usually cover a considerable part of the area embraced within the inclosure of a large habitation. Two or three, or even half a dozen capacious reservoirs often belong to a single house of the better sort: and an ample supply of water is usually received during the rainy season to last the rest of the year. The water thus preserved, is commonly pure and fresh, and agreeable to the taste. This is

more than can be said for that of the public reservoirs, which are open, and much exposed to dust and filth, from which no care is taken to protect them; so that the water which they contain is commonly discoloured, and of an unwholesome appearance. The water of the Pool of Siloam, and that of the Fountain of the Virgin, is tolerably clear, but not very palatable. The water in the reservoir just west of the Lower Pool of Gihon is derived through an ancient aqueduct from Solomon's pools near Bethlehem; and is said to be, both in taste and appearance, the best of these public waters, which we shall now proceed to examine severally. We shall first take those on the east side of the city, in the order of their occurrence, from north to south.

On that side of the city, the inhabitants pass out into the valley of Jehoshaphat by St. Stephen's Gate, which is about 400 feet to the north of the inclosure of the Sakkarah. Travellers seldom turn northward to explore the upper part of the valley, as most of the objects of traditional interest lie southward. A few have done so, however. And it is to the north, about a hundred yards from the gate, that we find a reservoir, of very ancient appearance. Dr.

Olin, who visited it, was unable to learn its name: but, in the excellent plan of the city lately published by Dr. Schultz, the Prussian consul at Jerusalem, (by which we have been much assisted in preparing this work,) it is called Birket el-Hamman. It is walled with stone, and lined with a cement composed of lime, sand, and gravel. The steps that lead down to the reservoir are considerably out of repair, and the water is raised by a rude windlass, at the angle nearest the city-gate. The water is of a whitish colour, and is much exposed to impurities in this open place, where the wind often carries along clouds of dust. Yet it seems much in demand—probably for irrigation—from the number of persons who are seen to repair to it to fill their water-skins and earthen vessels. The cistern is dependent upon the rains for its supply, and travellers have been somewhat perplexed to know how the water is collected, as the form of the ground is not favourable to that object, nor is there any visible channel by which it might be conveyed from the higher grounds further north. But the fact is—as shown by the above-mentioned plan of Dr. Schultz—that its waters are derived by a subterranean channel from another reser-

voir, in which it is, in the first instance, collected. This one is called Birket el Hejjeh, and is immediately under the city-wall, on the north. The reservoir more directly under our notice is thirty-four paces long by thirty-one broad. The depth has not been stated; but, when Dr. Olin saw it, in May, the height *above* the water was about twelve feet. This reservoir does not seem to be mentioned in Scripture: but, from its manifest antiquity, it is interesting as a probable specimen of Jewish workmanship.

Far down the valley, southward, and on the same side—that is, the west side—of that valley, about 900 feet from the south-east angle of the inclosure of the Sakkarah, is the fountain, popularly known among the Christians as the Fountain of the Virgin, from the notion that the virgin Mary there washed the clothes of her blessed Son. Travellers sometimes call it the Upper Pool of Siloam—to distinguish it from another fountain, about a quarter of a mile further down the valley, to which the name of Siloam is more usually applied; while others make the same distinction by calling this the Fountain, and that the Pool, of Siloam. The natives call it 'Ain Um ed

Deraj, Fountain Mother of Steps, from the long flight of steps by which the water is approached. It has been regarded as the Dragon Well of Nehemiah ii. 13, and the King's Pool of ii. 14. It was, perhaps, the one or the other—but scarcely both ; as the same pool would hardly be designated by two very different names in two successive sentences; and as it seems that the King's Pool is at a further stage of progress in a survey that commences at the Dragon Well, which was near the gate at which Nehemiah went out of the city, we incline to think that this Dragon Well may have been the reservoir already mentioned as near St. Stephen's Gate.

The remarkable and interesting Fountain of the Virgin, is only a few steps from the bed of the brook Kidron, at the bottom of a deep artificial grotto, running in under the wall of the valley, and wholly excavated in the solid rock. To enter it, one first descends sixteen steps; then comes to a level place of ten feet; and then ten steps more to the water. The steps are, on an average, each about ten inches high; and the whole depth, therefore, is about twenty-five feet, or about fifteen feet below the actual bottom of the valley. The basin itself

is, perhaps, fifteen feet long, by five or six feet wide; the height is not more than six or eight feet. The bottom is strewed with small stones, and the water flows off by a passage at the interior extremity, leading under the mountain to Siloam. There is now no other outlet for the water; and there is nothing to indicate that any different one ever existed. The water is of a low temperature, but clear, and not ordinarily disagreeable to the taste, although it seems to have some peculiarity of flavour. "Several women," says Dr. Olin, "came to the fountain to draw water, which they carried away in earthen vessels; and some muleteers were watering their asses there."

This traveller, like all others, was much interested by the intermitting of this fountain. He says, "I visited it several times during my stay in Jerusalem, and at different hours of the day, to see if any light could be obtained with regard to the singular phenomenon, which, according to the statements of travellers, and to the current opinion in Jerusalem, it frequently exhibits. The water, it is said, sometimes declines to such an extent as to leave the bottom of the basin bare and nearly dry, when it suddenly reappears, flowing in with a strong

current, and rising rapidly to the height of several feet. I made some inquiries regarding this singular fact, of an Arab woman, who was washing near by. She confirmed the account, but said that the rise was not periodical, and sometimes does not take place for several days. As nearly as I could understand her, she said, in answer to my inquiries, that the phenomenon is more frequent in the spring than at other seasons." Dr. Robinson also questioned a woman who came to wash at the fountain; and her information was to the same effect, with the addition that the flow of the water sometimes occurs two or three times a day, and sometimes in the summer only once in two or three days. This traveller, and his companion, the rev. Eli Smith, had the advantage of witnessing the fact for himself, which no traveller before him seems to have done. They were examining the place, and Mr. Smith was standing with one foot on the lower step, and the other on a loose stone lying in the basin, when all at once he perceived the water coming into his shoe, and supposing the stone had rolled, he withdrew his foot to the step; which, however, was now also covered with water: this instantly excited their curiosity, and they then

perceived the water bubbling up rapidly from under the lower step. In less than five minutes, it had risen in the basin nearly, if not quite, a foot ; and it could be heard gurgling through the interior passage. In ten minutes more, it had ceased to flow; and the water in the basin was again reduced to its former level. Dr. Robinson then thrust his staff under the lower step, whence the water appeared to come, and found there a large hollow space; but a further examination could not be made without removing the step.

It curiously shows how deficient men of liberal education and even eminent scholars are generally in knowledge of natural science; that of the great numbers who have recorded this phenomenon, and wondered at it, not one has hinted at the explanation which seems applicable to this and other intermitting fountains,—we say "other," because the phenomena are not by any means so rare as the travellers in the Holy Land seem to imagine. The reader must be familiar with the principle of the syphon, and the philosophy of its operation : but it may be well to remind him that if a bent tube, whose branches are of unequal length, be filled with water, and the thumbs placed upon its two openings, it will,

by placing the shorter branch in any vessel containing water, and then removing the thumbs from both openings, drain the vessel, provided the vessel be above the opening of the larger branch : but if the branches be equal, the water contained in the tube would only remain there. This will be rendered clear by the annexed engraving. Now, intermitting

springs, like this Fountain of the Virgin, are produced by the channels through which the water flows being formed like syphons. Thus, if, in the figure on page 147, A B C represents the section of a hill, in which there is a hollow, D E F, and a channel bent like a syphon, E G B, leading out of it, the water collected from the rills, H H H H, will supply the hollow, and as soon as it rises as high as G it will flow out

through B. It will then cease to flow until the hollow is again filled to the same height as before, when it will fill again, and thus alternately flow and cease.

The syphon, by its peculiar properties, will drain the hollow to the level of its shorter branch, provided the opening of the larger

branch remain below it ; and as the water cannot again reach G in the syphon till it reaches half way to F in the hollow, an interval longer or shorter, according to the supply the rill affords, occurs before the spring again flows.

It seems marvellous that this simple explanation of the intermitting flow of water in the Fountain of the Virgin has not before been produced—especially as it is well understood that the water therein comes from a fountain under the foundations of the ancient temple. The Moslems of Jerusalem uniformly aver the existence of such a subterraneous source, though they are not inclined to permit strangers to settle the question by actual inspection. Those Europeans resident in Jerusalem who interest themselves in such matters, regard it as nearly certain that such a fountain does exist at a vast depth below the sacred building; and that the water passes thence (by a syphon-like channel, undoubtedly,) to the Fountain of the Virgin, whence another subterraneous channel conducts it to the Pool of Siloam. If we take this to be the true hypothesis, and then engraft upon it the notion of Pococke, that the water which supplies in succession these three fountains, is brought by a subterraneous and submontane channel, cut by Hezekiah, from a source that exists, though concealed since the days of that monarch, upon the north-west side of the city, we shall find still greater cause for astonishment at the extent and complication of these sub-

montane communications. The hypothesis seems to derive no little support from 2 Chron. xxxii. 3, 4, 30.

It is almost a matter of regret that the necessary conciseness of this work will not permit us to produce in detail the historical and other evidences which go to establish the fact that there is a great reservoir under the temple court, more abundantly supplied formerly than at present, apparently from a somewhat distant spring, whose waters are brought thither by a subterranean channel or aqueduct, and whose surplus waters rise in the Fountain of the Virgin, and are discharged at the Pool of Siloam. A strong corroboration may, however, be indicated in the fact that the same peculiar and very distinguishable *taste* which exists in the two last-named pools, has been discovered in other pools or wells which are on the opposite quarter of the temple, and which must, therefore, be supposed to be supplied from the same aqueduct which conducts the water *to* the great reservoir under the temple. One of these wells, which is not far from the west side of the outer inclosure of the Great Mosque, and which is used to supply a bath, was most venturously explored by the rev. J. Woolcott, an American

missionary, in the hope of making out its connexion with the supposed reservoir under the temple. The result, in this respect, was unsatisfactory to Mr. Woolcott himself. The well proved to be eighty-two and a half feet deep, with (at that time, in January,) a depth of four and a half feet of water at the bottom. There, a little above the existing surface of the water, he found a passage which formed the water channel, which he explored to the distance of eighty feet, where he was stopped by a basin or well of unknown depth, beyond which the wall of rock shut down to the water, and presented another obstacle even could the water have been passed. He was, therefore, obliged to return without any satisfactory result. Having broken his compass, he was even unable to ascertain that the direction of the passage he explored was *towards* the temple; but even if it were, it must have stopped forty-four feet short of the outermost inclosure. It may be remarked, however, that, although the general course of the passage was direct, the cutting was so uneven as to suggest the thought that advantage had been taken of a natural seam, or fissure, in the rock. And this may suggest that, from the same cause, rather than from any direct

intention to produce a determinate result, may have arisen that syphon-like form of channel which, in the absence of any other equally satisfactory explanation, we have supposed to be the cause of the intermitting flow in the Fountain of the Virgin. The water of the well, as already remarked, is identical with that of the Fountain of the Virgin and the Pool of Siloam, proving the existence of some communication between them all.

This peculiar water is also found in a copious well within the precincts of the church of the Flagellation, close to the seraglio, which supplies the Franciscan monastery during the driest summer, and to which, therefore, the same inference must be applied. It seems to us that, by carefully tracing this taste through different wells, it may be possible eventually to discover the hidden source of the waters which are supposed to flow into some great reservoir under the temple.

It was suggested by Pococke—and other travellers, including Dr. Robinson, have inclined to the same opinion—that the Fountain of the Virgin may have been the Bethesda of the New Testament; and it has been asked, whether the intermitting flow of its water may not have had

some connexion with the healing efficacy ascribed to it in John v. 4. This notion seems to be rather prevalent in Jerusalem, although at variance with the tradition which recognises the Pool of Bethesda in the large tank, now dry, on the north side of the inclosure of the Sakkarah, not far from St. Stephen's Gate. Of this we shall speak presently: but may here say, that, whatever be said of that tank, Bethesda could scarcely be at the Fountain of the Virgin, because the excavation there being in the lime rock, could never have been larger than at present, and it has certainly no room for the "five porches" mentioned by St. John, v. 2. These, indeed, might have been constructed upon the approaches to the fountain, or at the top of the stairs. But the serious mind will not be able to see much connexion between the ebbing and flowing of this fountain, and the healing efficacy ascribed to the waters of Bethesda in the Scripture. The troubling of their waters was effected by an angel, who went down "at a certain season (at a stated season, and not at a number of indefinite seasons,) into the pool, and troubled the water: whosoever then first after the troubling of the water, stepped in was made whole of whatsoever

disease he had." Besides, it is clear, from the explanation of this phenomenon which has just been given, that the irregular flow is physically unconnected with any change in the properties of the water; it is not even popularly and locally deemed to impart any new virtues to the water, which have not at the period of flow, or at other times, any power to heal. We should not have deemed it worth while to give even these few words to this matter, but for the very high authority under which this untenable hypothesis has been recently set forth.

The Pool of Siloam, that is, the lower pool, already mentioned as about a quarter of a mile to the south of the Fountain of the Virgin, from which, by a subterraneous channel, it receives its waters, next demands our attention.

The name of Siloam, or Siloah, is found only in three places of Scripture as applied to water; once in Isaiah, (viii. 6,) who speaks of it as running water; again, as a pool, in Neh. ii. 14; and finally, in the account of our Lord's miracle of healing the man who had been born blind, John ix. 7—11. None of these passages afford any clue to the situation of Siloam. But this silence is amply supplied by Josephus, who makes frequent mention of

Siloam as a fountain, and says expressly, that the valley of the Tyropœon extended down to Siloam—in other words, that Siloam was situated in the mouth of the valley of the Tyropœon, on the south-east part of the ancient city, where we find it at the present day. Here, then, under the southern termination of Mount Ophel, and just opposite the highest summit of the Mountain of Offence, and about eighty paces within the point where the Valley of the Tyropœon terminates in that of Jehoshaphat, is this celebrated fountain. The water flows out of a small artificial basin under the cliff, the entrance of which is excavated in the form of an arch; and it is immediately received into a large reservoir, fifty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nineteen feet deep—the western end of which is in part broken down. A flight of steps leads down to the bottom of this reservoir, which seldom contains much standing water, and often the stream which it receives simply passes through it, by a channel cut in the rock, which is covered for a short distance, but is subsequently open, and discloses a lively, copious stream that is conducted into a garden planted with fig-trees. It is afterwards subdivided, and seems to be exhausted in irrigating

a number of gardens occupied with fig, apricot, olive, and other trees, together with various leguminous plants. The use of this reservoir, of so much larger capacity than is ordinarily required, is apparently to receive and regulate the distribution of the most abundant supply which may occasionally come into it by an extraordinary rise in the Fountain of the Virgin —the water in which, though commonly very low, appears to rise sometimes to the fourteenth step, if not higher.

This reservoir of the Pool of Siloam is faced with a wall of stone, now slightly out of repair. Several columns stand out of the side walls, extending from the top downward into the cistern. It is difficult to conjecture what may have been their design—unless to support a roof, or belonging to some chapel; but there is now no other appearance of important ruins in the vicinity.

The small upper basin, or fountain, forms the entrance, or rather termination, of the long narrow subterranean passage beyond, by which the water comes from the Fountain of the Virgin. For the last two centuries many travellers have affirmed the existence of a communication between the two fountains; but their

notices were vague and unsatisfactory; and down to the date of Dr. Robinson's visit to Jerusalem it was still deemed uncertain whether the water flowed from the Fountain of the Virgin to the Pool of Siloam, or from the Pool of Siloam to the Fountain of the Virgin. That learned traveller found the existence of this communication the current belief at Jerusalem; but no one had himself explored it, or was able to give any definite information concerning it. He and his companion, therefore, determined to look into the matter for themselves; and they actually passed through the whole length of the channel. From the Pool of Siloam they went a measured distance of eight hundred feet; and finding the passage became too contracted for them to proceed without crawling, for which they were not then prepared, they returned—previously marking the distance, and the initials of their names in the ceiling with the smoke of their candles. Two days after, they resumed their exploration at the other end, from the Fountain of the Virgin, and, after proceeding to a much greater distance than they expected—sometimes on all-fours, and sometimes dragging themselves along upon their elbows, they at length reached

the point from which they had previously returned in the other direction. The measured length of the passage was one thousand seven hundred and fifty feet, although the direct external distance between the two fountains does not exceed one thousand one hundred feet, the difference being owing to sinuosities of the passage—designed, we suppose, to attenuate the volume of the stream and lessen its force. "The purpose for which this difficult work was undertaken," says Dr. Robinson, "it is not easy to discover. The upper basin must obviously have been formed at an earlier period than the lower; and there must have been something to be gained by thus carrying its waters through the solid rock into the Valley of the Tyropœon. If the object had been merely to irrigate the gardens which lay in that quarter, this might have been accomplished with far less difficulty and expense, by conducting the water around upon the outside of the hill. But the whole looks as if the advantage of a fortified city had been taken into account; and as if it had been important to another that it could not be cut off by a besieging army."

The Well of Nehemiah, as it is called by Christians, but by the natives the *Well of Job*,

is about fifty rods below the Pool of Siloam, within the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and just at its junction with the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. This fountain, which bears all the marks of high antiquity, is a deep quadrangular well, walled up with squared stones laid in cement. It is partly covered with an arch, and just by its mouth is an old stone building, containing some watering troughs, and apparently designed to afford temporary shelter to wayfaring men. The well is one hundred and twenty-five feet deep, fifty of which are full of water in April, and in the season of rain it fills to overflowing. The water is sweet; but less cool than well-water usually is; and is now drawn up by hand. It is called the Well of Nehemiah under the belief of its being the well in which, according to an idle Jewish tradition, the sacred fire was preserved during the Babylonish captivity, and whence it was recovered, and restored to the altar of the second temple by Nehemiah. This name seems to have been somewhat recently imposed, as the writers who notice it anterior to the sixteenth century, call it by the well-known scriptural name of En-Rogel. There is no doubt of its title to that interesting designation. It is first mentioned

in the book of Joshua (xv. 7, 8; xviii. 16, 17,) in describing the boundary between Judah and Benjamin, and is there fixed at the entrance of the Valley of the Son of Hinnom. In 2 Sam. xvii. 17, it is spoken of as being close to Jerusalem. It was here that Jonathan and Ahimaaz waited to receive news from the city, which they might bear to David during the rebellion of Absalom. Hard by this well Adonijah made a feast for his partizans, when he aspired to the crown of his dying father; who thereupon ordered Solomon to be proclaimed at the Pool of Gihon, on the opposite side of the city; and it is interesting to note that Adonijah and his party at En-Rogel, *heard* with consternation the acclamations of the people at the Pool of Gihon, 1 Kings i. 9—41.

There are no waters in the southern Valley of the Son of Hinnom.

On the western side, we find the *Pools of Gihon*, which derive their names from the valley in which they are found. They are distinguished as the Upper and the Lower Pools of Gihon, which designations are applied to them in Scripture. The Upper Pool is mentioned in 2 Kings xviii. 17; Isa. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2; and this is probably the same with the Old Pool of

Isa. xxii. 11. It is in the 9th verse of the last cited chapter that the Lower Pool is named; "ye gather together the waters of the Lower Pool."

This *Lower Pool* is in the southern part of the Gihon Valley, and under the west side of Mount Zion. It was formed by throwing strong walls across the bottom of the valley, between which the earth was wholly removed, so that the rocky sides of the valley are left shelving down irregularly, and form a narrow channel along the middle. The wall at the south end is thick and strong, like a dam, or causeway; those along the sides are comparatively low, and much broken down; and that on the north is also in part thrown down. A road crosses on the causeway at the southern end, along which are fountains erected by the Moslems, and once fed from the aqueduct which passes very near. They are now dry. The dimensions of this vast reservoir are five hundred and ninety-two feet in length along the middle, two hundred and forty-five feet in breadth at the north end, and two hundred and seventy-five feet at the south end; thirty-five feet in depth at the north end, and forty-two feet at the south end. This pool was probably filled from the rains, and

from the superfluous waters of the Upper Pool. It is now dry, although it has received no damage which a little cost and trouble might not completely repair. From its position outside the walls, the pool was no doubt used for watering the flocks and herds, which we know were reared in great numbers in this part of Palestine. It was also near enough to the city to be conveniently resorted to for domestic purposes.

The aqueduct which brings water from Solomon's Pool, near Bethlehem to Jerusalem, crosses the valley about fifty yards north of this pool, and is then carried along and around the south-west part of Zion above the valley, till it comes out again, high up along the eastern slope, and enters the city. This aqueduct is not mentioned in Scripture. Later Jewish writers, however, as cited in the Talmud, speak often of the manner in which the temple was supplied with water by an aqueduct from the Fountain of Etham, which lay at a distance from the city on the way to Hebron. This corresponds with the notice which Josephus takes of an Etham, not far from Jerusalem, which Solomon adorned with gardens and springs of water. All this doubtless refers to Solomon's Pools, and to the

aqueduct which anciently, as at the present day, conducted their waters to Jerusalem. The channel, for some distance from the pool, is laid with earthen pipes, inclosed and covered with stones; but afterwards, apparently, it consists merely of stones laid in cement, forming a small channel of, perhaps, a foot in breadth and depth. In order to maintain a level in passing over a region so very mountainous as that between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, it winds along the side of the valleys, varying in its direction towards every point of the compass. It is conducted across the valley of Gihon, at the point indicated, upon an aqueduct resting upon five low arches, the middlemost and highest of which is hardly more than six or eight feet in height, while those near the extremities rise scarcely more than three feet above the ground. This aqueduct is in all respects one of the most venerable and interesting antiquities of Jerusalem, and taken in connexion with the distant Pools of Solomon, from which the water is brought, must be regarded as a stupendous work for the age and nation in which they had their origin. It is the common opinion of the Christians of Jerusalem, confirmed by the Moslems, who alone have free

access to the interior of the Sakkarah, that the aqueduct terminates within these sacred precincts, thus confirming the statements furnished by the ancient Jewish writers.

The Upper Pool of Gihon is somewhat short of a half a mile north-west of the Lower Pool, and at the head of the valley of the same name. In going from the Lower to the Upper Pool the ascent is very considerable, diminishing at every step the depth of the valley. Just opposite the Joppa gate it turns to the north-west, and so continues to the Upper Pool. The valley has, in the mean time, expanded into a broad plain, inclining towards the reservoir from the east, north, and west, so as to collect upon this point all the rains that fall over a large area which is now covered with grain and pasturage. This pool appears to have been entirely dependent upon the rains for its supply of water, as there are no springs in the neighbourhood, and no appearance of any conduit or other contrivance by which it was ever connected with such as might formerly have had existence. The length of the reservoir from east to west is 316 feet, its breadth 200 feet, and its depth 18 feet. The sides are built up with hewn stones laid in cement, with steps at

the corners by which to descend into it. All the redundant water, after this pool was filled, flowed off down the valley to increase the supplies of the vast reservoir below. It is doubtful if it ever becomes full in its present state of disrepair, or long retains the water it receives; and it is certainly dry in summer. This reservoir, like the Lower Pool, has every appearance of high antiquity, and should doubtless be referred to the very earliest period of Jewish history. It certainly dates before the age of Hezekiah; and the fact that it was a place of public resort even in the time of David—as appears by 1 Kings i. 38—may raise the question whether it did not exist even before they obtained possession of Jerusalem; for, at that time, it had been not more than thirty-three years in their hands.

This Upper Pool is now nearly surrounded by a Mohammedan cemetery, which covers a large area on the north and west, and is indeed the largest of the cemeteries near Jerusalem. That much of the water collected in this reservoir, when it rains, flows over this large field of graves—many of which are scarcely two feet deep, would in most countries excite a prejudice against it; but is a circumstance which

seems not to be heeded here. It is probable that this pool was used chiefly for watering cattle ; but it also contributed to the common wants of the people, as a large quantity of the water was, and still is, conveyed by a conduit into the heart of the city.

The channel by which this is effected is at first subterranean, but afterwards rises to the surface. It is of very rude workmanship. The stones are large and rough, and seem to have been carelessly laid down at first, or to have been subsequently displaced by violence. Still they perfectly answer their purpose of giving a passage to the water without obstruction or waste. The appearance of the work is primitive and ancient, and on these accounts it may very well be taken for the "conduit" of Hezekiah, 2 Kings xx. 20. Yet these very circumstances have been urged as reasons against its being ascribed to him, by some recent writers who have taken up the notion that his labours had a different object than that of conducting the waters of this pool into the city. They allege that the work is too rude to have been executed under so magnificent a king as Hezekiah ; but it is forgotten that, so far as it lay *outside* the city, it was a work of haste, in

apprehension of an advancing enemy; and a work which after the lapse of more than twenty-five centuries is still sufficient for its original purpose, was not unequal to the occasion which the Scripture describes. The water from the Upper Pool enters the city by this conduit, a little to the north of the Jaffa gate, and passes thence into a large reservoir, only a few rods distant, in a north-east direction, and adjacent to the Coptic convent. The reservoir is walled up with masonry, and lined with cement in the usual way. It is about 240 feet long by 144 feet broad: and is not of considerable depth. It is much involved among houses: and the water which it contains has a whitish and unwholesome appearance. It does not seem to be used for drinking; and as it supplies a neighbouring bath, the natives from that circumstance call it Birket el-Hummam; the Christians name it the Pool of Hezekiah; and there is no reason to doubt that this is indeed the reservoir which was constructed by that monarch to receive the waters which, by the conduit already described, he brought down from the Upper Pool of Gihon "straight down to the west side of the city of David," 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. The reservoir has every mark of

remote antiquity ; and it is very safe to regard this and the two reservoirs outside the walls, as the most unquestionable of the ancient Jewish remains now existing in or near the holy city.

There is still nearer to the Jaffa gate another reservoir, which the traveller must pass, just upon his left, in going to the pool of Hezekiah. It is of small dimensions, and contains no water ; and would not require to be noticed, but for the appearance of venerable antiquity about it, and but for the tradition which attempts to connect it with a memorable incident in the history of David. It is said to be the pool in which Bathsheba was bathing, when David first saw her from the roof of his palace. Hence it is called the Pool of Bathsheba. But the tradition is not entitled to the slightest attention; and it probably originated in the circumstance that this pool is overlooked by the citadel, which is commonly regarded as having been the residence of king David.

The Pool of Bethesda is the only other reservoir *within* the town which requires our attention. That which has, at least, since the time of Constantine, been regarded as the pool " by the sheep-market," where the impotent man was healed by our Saviour, as recorded in

John v., is a great oblong excavation, just under the north wall of the Sakkarah, and near to the gate of St. Stephen, the "sheep gate" of the Bible, which has already been mentioned as the principal entrance from the Valley of Jehoshaphat. It is much filled with rubbish, and has probably not contained any water for centuries. But that it was a reservoir is shown by the cement with which it is lined; and its great antiquity has not been disputed. At the north end of this basin are two unequal arches, much encumbered with rubbish, and forming a covered way under some buildings of considerable extent. This is taken for the remains of the "five porches" which gave shelter for the "impotent folk" while waiting for "the troubling of the water."

Some recent travellers have questioned the right of this reservoir to be regarded as the Pool of Bethesda. Yet, it is a pool of great depth and extent within the walls, as Bethesda was, and whose traces, therefore, could not be easily effaced; and if this be not the Pool of Bethesda, no better alternative—nor any near so good—has been suggested. That the Fountain of the Virgin cannot be taken for it, has already been shown. It has been, indeed,

urged that the excavation was made merely to serve as a ditch to the Fortress of Antonia, built for the protection of the temple. But, in reply to this, it has been well asked by a recent noble traveller, "Why, in that case, it was made of so preposterous a width as 130 English feet, in a town so limited in its space for inhabitants and garrison, or of seventy-five feet to the bottom, where a fall of twenty feet in a wet ditch would have answered every purpose of defence—or why, if it were *only* for defence, it should have been a wet ditch at all, where an enemy in possession of its northern bank might at any time have so easily drained it into the Valley of Jehoshaphat? It probably did answer the purpose of a ditch to the Fortress Antonia; but it appears quite clear that it was constructed also for the purpose of a mighty pool or reservoir to supply the city with water. And, if so, and if it was *a* pool, but not *the* pool of Bethesda, why do we find no mention made by the Bible or by Josephus of any other pool in that direction?" Upon the whole, we judge that the arguments in favour of this identification greatly predominate over those against it.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

The history of this building has already been given in the course of the general narrative. The interest which has for many ages been attached to it has also been seen: and if only as one of the two principal buildings in Jerusalem, and as the centre of attraction to the thousands who have for centuries repaired every year to the holy city, it claims a special description in this little work. We have already indicated the point of view in which we regard the holy sepulchre, and the associations connected with it: and shall here only add, that if the site were certain, even the Protestant mind might be allowed, with some natural emotion, to respond to the invitation given by the angel to the woman who, on the morning of the resurrection went to the sepulchre, "Come and see the place where they laid him." But so much that is unpleasant and repulsive to the plain and thoughtful Christian has been con-

nected with the spot, that many who have been there find a relief to their spirit in the doubt which hangs over the identity of the alleged sepulchre of Christ.

It has been shown, in the history, that the building of Constantine was destroyed by the Persians; that it was restored by the Christians, and eventually again destroyed by the caliph Hakem; that it was once more rebuilt by the Christians, and enlarged and beautified by the crusaders; and that this building remained till 1808, when it was in great part destroyed by fire, but was restored the year following exactly after the model of the former building.

The church is very near the Latin convent, in the upper part of the city, originally Acra. Its area embraces a space of about three hundred feet in length, by a very irregular breadth, at such different levels that the Chapel of the Finding of the Cross is fifty feet below the alleged rock of Calvary. This irregular form no doubt arose from the wish to include within the walls all the spots which tradition or inventive superstition connected with the death and resurrection of our Lord.

The approach to the building is by very narrow lanes, which terminate in a large court

formed upon the eastern front of the building by two projecting wings. A row of columns in the Byzantine style, of which only some pedestals and short portions of the shafts remain in their places, formerly bounded this court on the south. The façade, as it now stands, is of pointed architecture, the details being of a mixed and corrupt style ; but the entire effect is declared by competent judges to be venerable and picturesque. The pavement of the court in front is worn by the feet of innumerable pilgrims ; and this place is the resort of numerous hucksters, who sell the various trinkets which were lately described, all of which find a ready sale among the pilgrims, who take them to their distant homes as relics of the holy land. Rosaries made of the stones of the olives produced by the trees upon the Mount of Olives, are favourite articles of the traffic carried on in this vanity fair. A great trade is also driven in shrouds of coarse cotton, which the purchasers take from the vendor's stall to a priest seated at one of the windows of the church, who takes it in his hand, and after muttering a blessing over it, restores it to the owner, who pays a small fee, and feels happy in having secured for his dead body a vesture

which he considers holy. There is no reason to doubt that they rest in the delusion that their condition in the world to come will be improved by their corpse being thus shrouded: and we who know how prone the children of fallen Adam are to "spend their money for that which is not bread, and their labour for that which satisfieth not," rather than submit to be clothed with the unbought robe of Christ's righteousness, may lament, but wonder not, at this and the other soul-destroying delusions and miserable inventions for superseding the office of Christ in the salvation of the soul, of which this place is and has been one great centre, and which render it, in a truly spiritual point of view, one of the great abominations of the earth. We are sorry to use so hard a word as this. But it is the truth: and when we are in an atmosphere of associations accounted sacred, and tending to act delusively upon the soul, it is most important to have it distinctly before our minds that all these things belong to the "bodily exercises" which not only profit little to those who take so much pains in them, and spend so much money upon them—but are absolutely ruinous from being taken as substitutes for that work of God in the soul of man

without which he cannot be saved. Let us bear this in mind as we walk through the church, and contemplate the scenes which take place within its walls; and it will serve as a salutary and necessary restraint upon the sympathies which the strong, and, doubtless, natural emotions of many of the worshippers will have a tendency to awaken.

The door of the church is kept by a Turk, who receives a trifling fee from those who enter. Within the vestibule, the first object that attracts our attention is a large marble slab, upon which it is said that the body of our Lord was laid after crucifixion, to be anointed for the tomb. "This and other palpable absurdities," says Mr. Bartlett, "would tend, even were our convictions as to the site of the sepulchre itself quite settled, to disgust and repel us, and weaken the impression with which we might otherwise regard it." The pilgrims, however, hang around it, and impress it with eager kisses.

Passing the vestibules, we stand under the great central dome of the church, in a circular area, which is separated from the surrounding space by sixteen fine columns, which rise from the pavement to an upper gallery that rests

upon them. In the centre of this area stands a small, but very beautiful, structure of white marble—a kind of miniature church—about twenty-five feet in length, and of proportionate height and breadth. It fronts towards the east ; and has a small platform, ascended by a few steps, and surmounted by a low parapet of marble before it. Upon this raised pavement stands a small block of foreign marble, on which, as the monks affirm, sat the angel who announced to the women that the Lord had risen. This is another picture well calculated to strengthen incredulity, and to rouse indignation. The sepulchre itself is within the small edifice just described, and has to be approached through a low narrow entrance, that can only be passed by stooping very low towards the floor. The sepulchre itself is covered by a sarcophagus of white marble, which conceals entirely the primitive rock in which the sepulchre was hewn. The area of the sepulchre is nearly half taken up by the sarcophagus, so that only a few persons can be at one time in the tomb, which is lighted night and day, by suspended lamps of gold and silver, and perfumes are always burning in it. "The air is warm and balmy," says Lamar-

tine, the French poetical traveller: "Respiration, in the confined and heated air, was difficult and painful," says the Wesleyan traveller, Dr. Olin—so much are men's sensation influenced by their mental impressions. The last-named traveller says, "Two or three of the pilgrims were quite overpowered by the violence of their emotions. Some remained upon their knees, wrapped in silent prayer and meditation. Others bent their heads over the sarcophagus, sobbing aloud, and weeping profusely. One man, an oriental Christian, poured some water into it from a vessel he had brought on purpose, and then drank it out, and even licked the bottom, convulsed by the strength of his feelings." Alas, that so much zeal should be misdirected! He that drank of that water shall thirst again: and there was no one to direct him how to seek that water which the Saviour himself was ready to give him, and of which he who drinketh shall thirst no more. John iv. 14. How these things make one long that those who thus idly wander in search of Christ, where he is not to be found, could hear a voice crying, "This is the way, walk ye in it;" when they turn to the right hand, and when they turn to the left.

The exterior western end of the sepulchre is circular, and it contains several chapels, where the minor oriental sects—Copts, Abyssinians, and Syrians—perform their several rites on festivals and other occasions.

Opposite the sepulchre, on the east, is an arch, from which lamps are suspended. This forms the entrance of the Greek church. The interior is decorated, in the usual style of the churches of this sect, with numerous paltry pictures and engravings—statues not being allowed. But the most remarkable thing here is a low pillar, inclosed by a low railing; which, we are gravely assured, makes not only the true centre of the earth (ignorantly supposed to be a plane, for a globe can have no external centre,) but the very spot from which was taken the earth with which Adam was made. Dr. Olin visited this church during the performance of public worship, and he was painfully struck with the carelessness and irreverence with which the services were gone through. The priests and monks, of whom a large number were present, indulged in the most indecent levity, looking about upon the crowd, and interchanging nods and grimaces at the same time that they were chanting and

crossing themselves in the public worship. It was very evident that they were mindful only of the forms, and had not the slightest reverence for the substance and object of devotion.

The whole length of this church lies between the circular area in which is the sepulchre, and the chapel of Mount Calvary; and the alleged place of crucifixion is at the further extremity of that chapel, which is a curious prolongation, or extraneous portion of the general building, thrown out purposely in that direction in order to include that sacred spot, which is understood to have been originally inclosed within a church distinct from that which contained the sepulchre. The distance between the place of crucifixion and the sepulchre is, therefore, greater than the statement that they are both in the same building might suggest, being not less than 285 feet. There is no historical improbability in this degree of proximity; indeed the gospel narrative requires it; for we are told that "in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre," John xix. 41. Not that it is necessary to suppose that the crucifixion was in the garden—it was probably in a public

place outside the city wall ; and the traveller in Syria and Palestine will see nothing improbable in the supposition that the garden fence should have passed between the two sites. No argument against the identity of the sites can therefore be drawn from this proximity ; and the probabilities of the case must be determined by other considerations. What has been said with respect to the identity of the holy sepulchre, will equally apply to that of Golgotha: for the evidence is about as strong or as weak for the one as for the other.

The opinion that Calvary was a mount, or rather hill, is common among ourselves—but there is no authority for that impression in Scripture, which states that the crucifixion was at " a place" called Calvary, or Golgotha. This, however, does not decide that it was *not* a mount, but simply leaves the matter undetermined. At the place we are surveying, it is made to be a mount, in conformity with the common notion. First, there is an ascent of eighteen steps, for the most part hewn out of rock, to the chapel of Golgotha, the floor of which is formed by levelling the same. The further end of this place is formed into a double chapel, in the northernmost of which,

as at its east end, is observed a platform of about eighteen inches high, covered with white marble. Upon this, is an altar, below which is pointed out a hole in the marble, communicating with a deep bore in the solid rock below, in which our Saviour's cross is said to have been erected. Near this, on the right, is another incision in the marble, showing a fissure in the rock below, said to have been occasioned by the earthquake which occurred at the time of the crucifixion. This is admitted by those who have examined it minutely, to have been a natural fissure; and its continuation may be traced in the Chapel of the Forerunner, below Golgotha. Dr. Clarke and others deride the monks for indicating holes for the three crosses "upon a contracted piece of masonry," without the smallest regard to the space required for their erection. The monks certainly act and indicate many foolish things; but it seems they are not justly chargeable with this absurdity. They show but one hole: and it is their belief that the impenitent thief was on our Lord's left hand, and the penitent thief on his right; and that the rock was cleft between him and the latter. For this fact we are indebted to the rev. George Williams, who

declares that he never saw or heard of more than the one hole for the cross of our Saviour.

Below the rock of Calvary, at the foot of a long descent of twenty-nine steps, is the gloomy, but picturesque chapel of Helena, the mother of Constantine, who is regarded as the founder of the establishment.* Another descent leads to the cave in which the cross on which our Lord was crucified, is said to have been discovered, under the circumstance which we have already described. Here the rock overhangs the chapel, which is formed in its cavity. It can only be visited by torch-light, and is a real abyss, some twelve feet below the level of the floor of Helena's chapel. The place is specially holy in the estimation of the pilgrims, and it is said that thirty or forty persons sometimes crowd themselves into this damp and dismal hole, to celebrate an annual mass on the feast of the "Invention (Finding) of the Cross."

Having now described the principal "Holy places," we shall say nothing of the others of secondary importance, although all of them are objects of interest to the pilgrims, who visit them in succession, most devoutly. It is,

* See page 31.

however, necessary to enumerate them, to show the offensive extent to which the process of local identification is carried, and which, it must be admitted, those Protestants who believe in the identity of the sepulchre and the place of crucifixion deplore as much as those who do not; and perhaps more so, as they know that the manifest fertility of these lesser identifications reflects discredit on those which they believe to be real. They are as follows:—1. The stone on which Christ was anointed for burial. 2. The place where the virgin Mary stood, when the body was anointed. 3. The tomb of Melchizedek. 4. The place from which Adam's clay was taken. 5. The tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. 6. The tomb of Nicodemus. 7. The spot on which Jesus stood when he appeared to Mary Magdalene. 8. The spot on which Mary Magdalene herself then stood. 9. Part of the pillar to which our Lord was bound when scourged. 10. The place where Jesus appeared to his mother after the resurrection. 11. The place where Jesus was put in bonds. 12. The place where the soldiers parted Christ's garments. 13. The place where was found the head of the spear which pierced our Lord's side. 14. The

place where Christ was mocked, and the pillar on which he was then seated. 15. The place where the penitent thief was crucified.

It is not generally known in this country that the Roman Catholic church has of old apportioned certain "indulgences" for pilgrims visiting each of these and the other "holy stations." We have in our possession books with full particulars of each of them, and some containing prayers and meditations suitable for every one of them. In "Purchas his Pilgrimes," published in 1625, is a poem in "old English rimes," which the compiler says was copied for the press from a manuscript in sir Robert Cotton's library, and which he judged to be *then* about two hundred years old. It enumerates all the pilgrim stations "from the londe of Engelond vnto Sent Iamez in Galis, and from thennez to Rome; and from thennez to Ierusalem; and so againe into Engelond." It reminds us well that our fathers were quite as precise, as anxious, and as believing in these matters as any Roman Catholics are now; and helps us to realize a more lively consciousness than we habitually possess of the great spiritual gain which, by God's grace, this nation since those times has made. We will give

as a specimen of this old poem, the part which relates to this place :—

"Now to the citee of Ierusalem we wull wynd,
Where of the sepulcer is a chirche hynde.
Therein is the mount of Caluery
When for our sake Iehu wolde dy.
There is plenor remission*
To alle hem that zeder wull come.
Also there fast by is a place
Where Ihesu Crist anoyntet was,
Or he was layd in his graue:
Plenor remission ther maie thou haue,
And at the sepulcer wit in,
Plenor remission maie thou wynn.
There is a place by right nere,
Where Crist was like a gardenere:
And aperet to Marie Magdaleyne
After his vprist, as clerkez sayn.
Nexst that place a chapell there is,
In the worschip of our Ladie, I wis:
Where Crist to his moder ferst
Aperet, after his vprist:
There is vii lentonez, and vii yere:
And in a wyndow fast by there,
Is a piler of her state,
To wich, in the house of Pilate,
Crist was bounden to, and kete:
And in the same chirche is sete,
The preson that Crist was in sent,
And the place where thei partyet his vestment
At ichon† of these placez hir before
Is vii lentonez, and vii yere more.
A chapell there is to Sent Elene,
Where sche the crose faire, and fyne,
The croune, the naylez were founden there,
And the heued of Longeez spere.‡

* Plenary indulgence. † Each one, every one.

‡ Longinius is affirmed to be the name of the soldier who pierced the Lord's side with his spear.

In that place where thei founde were,
Is plenor remission all daiez in the yere.
In that chirche à piler is founde,
To which Crist was bounden and crounet.
And in the chirche where Adam heued was fun,*
Is the middez of the world by resone.
Alle these ben in that chirche aboute,
And iiij chapalez there be wit oute.
The ferst of our Lady, and Sent Jon Evangelist,
The ii of the Angelez, the iij of Jon Baptist.
The iiij is of Marie Magdaleyne:
Devoute placez alle for certayne.
At alle these placez, to pardon by and by,
Is vii yere, and vii lentonez sieurely."

The places of this kind, supposed to be connected with the passion of Christ, are not confined to the church, but extend along the street called the Dolorous Way, (*Via Dolorosa*,) by which he is supposed to have been conducted to his death from Pilate's judgment hall to Calvary. As the lines of our old rhymer are not destitute of a certain kind of force, we shall let him enumerate them. It is observable that this old writer is careful to limit his responsibility for statements that taxed credulity a little too severely, by some such phrase as, "as clerkez sayn."

"Wit out the dor of that Mynster,
Is a place lene and dere;

* The tradition is, that Golgotha was called "the place of the skull," because the skull of Adam was found there! The writer confounds this with the place whence Adam's clay was taken.

Where Crist him rested for wery,
Berying his crose for to die.
There is the rich mannez place,
That lett the Lazarer, *as Clerkez saiez*,
Dye for defaute of mete,*
There† in Helle is made his sete.
And a waie ther after thou fyndest sene
Where a man that hight Symeon
Wit the Iewez constraynet was,
For to bere Cristez crose.
Then Crist tornet him agayn,
And to the wymmen thuse gan sayne
Wepe on youre selfe, and not on me,
And on your childer wher that thei be.
Another place there is at hounde
Where our Lady fell don sownande:‡
Seeyng her Son his crose bere,
Taward his deeth, that dud her dere.
Also there is ij stonez white,
To the wiche Crist restet alite,§
Wit his crose, hym selfe to cole,
And a non after ther is our Lady stole.
At all these placez forsade here,
Is vij lentonez, and vij yere.
And fast by is the house of Pilate
Wher Crist was brought to full late:
Bounden, buffetet, and crounet wit thoron,
Demed to death on the moron.
Azannez the despite that he had there,
Is fully remission, and plenere."

So it was then, they would take vast pains of some kind or other—making long journeys, kissing the cold stones, selling their goods

* It is a fact that even to this day a locality is thus given to the *parable* of the rich man and Lazarus.

† "There," that is, therefore.

‡ Swooning.

§ A little, a short time.

to feed the poor, giving their bodies to be burned—anything, to establish a meritorious ground of remission of sin from God; any "bodily exercise," rather than receive that remission as the free gift of God, purchased not by our own acts or sufferings, but by the precious blood of Christ, that cleanseth from all sin. So it was then—so it is now. The thing remains, but the form is changed; and let us not smile with conscious superiority that we are too wise to seek "plenary remissions" and "indulgences" in the Via Dolorosa, at Mount Calvary, or at the sepulchre of Christ—if we have dared to build up, in some remote corner of our hearts, any ground of acceptance before God than that which he himself has set forth in sun-like characters before us—Christ crucified for sin. He who trusts to the lie in his right hand for salvation, is much less superior than he thinks to the man who trusts in stocks and stones.

The course of these recognitions has led us beyond the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. We must now return to it, for the sake of stating some circumstances and usages of the place, not involved in the descriptive details which have been already given.

This church possessed by the Greeks is really the great Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the places of worship possessed by the other sects being merely chapels in comparison. Of the whole building, by far the greater part—probably three-fourths of the whole appropriated portion, (for there are parts common to all,) now belongs to the Greeks. The rest is chiefly shared between the Roman Catholics and the Armenians, the portions assigned to the oriental sects being inconsiderable. The sepulchre itself, and the area in which it stands, are common to all—except the small chapel of the Copts, at the end of the sepulchre itself, which has just been noticed. It is lamentable to add, that for three centuries, not a year, scarcely a month, has passed without the most disgraceful contests between the three principal sects which divide the possession of the building. The limits fixed to their respective possessions have been invaded by hostile encroachments, and defended inch by inch with an animosity, often reaching to blows, most lamentable to witness there, when we consider the great dishonour which such unseemly displays bring upon the name of our blessed Lord, in the sight of the unbelievers, who know Christianity only as

thus presented to them, and who look on and mock both at the mummeries and the violences of the place—interfering at times by their authority and blows, to quiet the belligerents. It is even suspected that the destruction of the sacred building by the great fire of 1808 was the result of the disappointment of the Armenians in a contest for the acquisition of power over the Greek possessions in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and although the charge is not proved by the mere fact of the fire having originated in their church, yet the imputation of such a fact demonstrates the spirit which animates those who could insinuate it. The circumstances of the fire itself are not of sufficient interest to call for a detailed description. The rev. George Williams, however, calls our marked attention to the fact that, although the heat was so intense that the marble columns which surrounded the circular area, in the centre of which stood the holy grotto, were completely pulverised; the lamps and chandeliers, with the rest of the vessels of the church—brass, silver, and gold—were melted like wax; and the molten lead from the immense dome which covers the holy sepulchre, poured down in torrents,—"yet the cave itself

received not the slightest injury, externally or internally; the silk hangings and ornaments remaining unscathed by the flame, the smell of fire not even having passed upon them." This is stated without comment; but as the writer not only strongly advocates the identity of the sepulchre, but views it with a higher degree of veneration than even the same belief would induce us to entertain, it is probable that he regards this as a special interposition of Providence to protect this holy spot. Such certainly, is the firm persuasion of the sects who share the possession of the church. But we think that we can account for this, without assuming that God, who spared not the holy and beautiful house in which his presence visibly dwelt, and where his ark rested between the cherubim, put forth his power to save this tomb from the fire. It appears that the top of the dome is open, that the sepulchre below might rest under the cope of heaven. When, therefore, the buildings around the circular area were on fire, the heated air and flame would be drawn towards this opening, and would from all sides meet there, preventing the flames from shooting across the area by creating an upward draught; so that the sepul-

chre being upon the floor immediately under the opening of the dome, was in the coolest and safest place that the building afforded, and it was physically impossible that it should be subject to the direct impact of the fire, unless a side draught had been created stronger than that which drew the flames to the open top of the dome.

Such as these volumes relate, has been the history of Jerusalem, and such as they have described has been her past, and is her present, condition. The destinies which may still await the city which the Lord once chose "to put his Name there," lie hid with Him. There are indeed some who entertain the belief that there are high prophetic intimations of a future glory for Jerusalem, and that her ancient people are destined to inherit her venerable walls once more. Our task has been to describe that which has been, and which is, and not to sound the depths of unfulfilled prophecy; and it therefore does not devolve upon us to declare any opinion on this undoubtedly interesting subject. It is our trust, that those who do entertain the view indicated may find it the means of strengthening their faith and encouraging their hope—without forgetting that the

religion of Jesus is not a religion of local influences, and is not favourable to the idea that any one spot of ground is more or less holy or favoured than another. The spot of earth towards which the Lord looks most favourably—that which is holiest in the sight of God and all his angels, is that on which stands the man whose heart is fullest of love and faith; and although that spot may be on

"The farthest verge
Of the green earth,"

or in

"Distant barbarous climes,"

or beside

"Rivers unknown to song"

we may be sure that the worship rendered THERE is the most acceptable of any that comes before the Throne on high.

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